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No 5, September-October 1987

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CONTENTS

1 APRIL 1988

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English Summaries of Major Articles	1
Author Information	4
Ulyanovskiy on Influence of October Revolution in Asia [R.A. Ulyanovskiy]	4
'Bourgeois' Scholars' Views of Asia-Pacific Security Critiqued [V.F. Pryakhin]	9
Problems in Third World's Mastery of Information Technology [G.I. Marinko]	16
Nonaligned Movement's Call for New Information Order Viewed [P.Yu. Molyarov]	20
Education in African Socialist-Oriented States Described [O.P. Pobokova]	25
Main Editorial Board for Oriental Literature Marks 30 Years [O.K. Dreyer]	31
Scholarly Work, Discussion on Reform in Chinese Village Life [E.S. Kulpin]	33
Collection of Articles by the Late N.M. Gurevich Published [Yu.G. Aleksandrov]	36
Czech Book on Relationship of Islam, Modern World Reviewed [A.V. Malashenko]	39
Book on Problems in World Economic Relations Reviewed [G.B. Starushenko]	41
Dadiani Book Blasting 'Social-Zionist Ideology' Reviewed [K.M. Truyevtsev]	42
Articles in NARODY AZII I AFRIKI No 5, Sep-Oct 87 Not Translated	44
Publication Data	45

PEOPLES OF ASIA & AFRICA

English Summaries of Major Articles

18070047a Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in
Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 87 pp 217-220

[Text] ON THE ROLE OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION ON MODERN HISTORY OF PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

R.A. Ulyanovsky

After the victory of the Great October the Soviet country became a symbol of revolution, a source and a guarantee of progress for oppressed classes and peoples.

The article considers the significance of the slogan advanced by V.I. Lenin: "Workers and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!", the community of aims and interests of the socialist revolution and the national liberation movements in the East, the forms of mutual influence and enrichment of these most important revolutionary forces of today. The acquaintance with the experience of social and economic reforms in the USSR, the achievement of the Soviet people in the field of culture, education, public health etc. was of great importance to the peoples of former colonies and semi-colonies. The example of the national problem solution in the USSR and the transformation of backward social structures was particularly valuable. The influence of the Great October resulted in a radical change of the extent, pace and character of the revolutionary process in countries of Asia and Africa.

The article appraises the relations between the USSR and the Asian and African countries at the present stage, the assistance rendered by the Soviet State to the liberated countries in their struggle against the neo-colonialism, for the solution of internal and external problems of national development; it emphasizes the necessity of an intensified common struggle of the socialist and the developing countries for the consolidation of peace and security, against the danger of nuclear war.

The author observes that the Lenin's behests are embodied in the rapprochement of the socialist countries with the peoples and states of Asia and Africa. Such a rapprochement corresponds completely to the new thinking of the end of the XX century, serves to the cause of peace and social progress.

NORTH-WESTERN BRITISH INDIA IN 1917-1930

O.V. Pleshov

The article examines the way the revolutionary ideas reached the North-Western colonial India, which later fostered the emergence here of the communist movement. The ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution were a catalyst transforming liberation tendencies into political, anti-colonial and anti-British slogans. The

article investigates the main factors which had a bearing upon the Moslem mentality and the activities of Indian Moslem organizations in and outside India.

The article disputes the assertion of the British colonial administration that the struggle for social justice in India was an alien phenomenon imposed from the Soviet Russia by the Bolsheviks. It is demonstrated that this struggle was locally inspired and although international by nature was a result of the national development.

The article also reveals the way revolutionaries of the North-West understood the nature of the forthcoming revolution and what mistakes they committed in the course of the revolutionary struggle.

INFLUENCE OF THE GREAT OCTOBER ON AFRICA AND POLICY OF BRITISH COLONIAL- ISTS

A.B. Letnev

The impact of the October revolution was different in various colonial and semi-colonial countries. The article analyzes the influence of the October's ideas and achievements in former British possessions in Africa in 1920—1950s. Using official British archives the author shows the extent of the ideological and political effect of the October on the colonized people through the exposition of colonialists' counter-action, the struggle of their repressive and bureaucratic machine against the revolutionary and liberation movement inspired by the October.

The article retraces the evolution of protective and repressive methods used in colonies by the British anti-communists, from the earliest years after the October up to eve of the conquest of national independence. It considers the reasons of gradual changes in the colonialists' tactics. With the growth of depressive phenomena in the imperialist colonial system London had to display great resourcefulness in its manoeuvres, to use more flexible methods for preserving its colonial rule.

The author examines the development of relations between British and other colonialists. After the world war II when the world balance of forces radically changed in favour of democracy and socialism and the imperialist colonial system began to collapse, British colonialists had to combine their protective efforts with similar actions of their former European rivals. It resulted in regular exchanges of confidential information, the development of common tactics for discussing the colonial problem at the United Nations.

But even such an all-round defense of European metropolises as well as the South Africa was insufficient to repress the revolutionary wave on the African continent. London had to seek in its African policy the strong partnership of the United States, what corresponded completely also to the interests of Washington.

Notwithstanding large material resources and well-trained personnel that the British administration had at its disposal in colonies, and the support from their imperialist confederates, it sustained a defeat which was quite natural. Finally they could not isolate the African political thought from the life-giving ideas of the October revolution, which changed the image of the planet.

BOURGEOIS POLITOLOGY AND PROBLEMS OF PEACE IN ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION

V.F. Pryakhin

The article analyzes the views of the eminent American, Japanese and West-German experts in the field of international relations (Z. Brzezinski, J. Glaubitz, L. Grinter, K. Kaiser, W. Kihl, M. Nishihara, M. Sase, J. Hsiung, D. Heinzig, H.-P. Schwarz, B. Junemann etc.) on the security problems in the Asian-Pacific region.

The new strategic situation in the world, characterized by an imperative necessity of excluding the war as a means of solution of political problems, requires to review the traditional stereotypes of political thinking also in respect of Asia. The article disproves conceptions of some authors mentioned above who examine situations in Asian-Pacific region only from the point of military balance of forces there. The conceptions of theorists from the "political realism" school (USA) aimed at isolating the Soviet Union in the region, forming of military and political coalitions and "super-blocs" of the anti-Soviet orientation, are particularly dangerous for the security of peoples of this region.

In political thinking of Z. Brzezinski and other representatives of this school, the Asian-Pacific region is considered as a "convenient" field for collision in the "global historical counteraction" between the USSR and the USA. Such concepts are not based on a reasonable account of all the factors influencing the future in the Pacific basin, and ignore the political and economic interests of Asian-Pacific states and the political maturity of peoples of the region. Geo-strategic models of 1970s proceeding from the possibility and the necessity for the West to use as a "counterforce" against the Soviet Union the so-called "Chinese card" are quite significant in this respect. Such models were and remain unsound from the political and military point of view. They don't correspond to the long-term security interests of the Western states themselves, those in Europe as well as the USA, not to mention Japan.

Peoples of this large geographical, demographic and economic region of the world have the same right for peace and security as the peoples of the other continents. The large-scale, integral program of ensuring peace, security and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region, set forth by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok on July 28, 1986 in his speeches during his official visit to India in November 1986, is to contribute to this aim.

JAPAN: "FAIR INCOME DISTRIBUTION"

V.B. Ramzes

The author makes a determined effort to critically analyse one of the most favourite myths being exploited by the mass media, government representatives and conservative scholars in Japan. According to these sources an "income revolution" which occurred in the country after World War II has brought about practically total material equality of all social strata. However, as it becomes apparent from the statistical information supplied by the author, though a trend toward a certain lessening of wage, savings and property differentiation does exist, there is no reason to speak about an "accomplished fair distribution." In addition to great gaps in various kinds of earned incomes and amounts of purchased consumer durables, the very small section of the Japanese society enjoys colossal capital gains.

The article contains a thorough description of views of the liberal economists attacking ineffective and controversial governmental policies in the field of public welfare. The author also considers the functioning process of the Life Protection Law and the National Tax System and comes to the conclusion that their numerous inadequacies not only prevent reasonable steps toward a fairer income distribution but, on the contrary, sometimes conserve and strengthen its perverse character.

Finally, the author demonstrates how and why the Japanese government flatly rejects even the most cautious opposition's offers concerning changes in its welfare policies. "Electoral motives" play in this field an important role, but they also camouflage the class bigotry of the bourgeois state with its inherent animosity against the really fair income distribution.

TO THE TYPOLOGY OF MEDIEVAL ORIENTAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

(AN ATTEMPT OF A SYSTEMATIC APPROACH)

L.A. Sedov

The article maintains that the present overstretched and indiscriminate use of the term "feudalism" blurs important differences between the western social system and various oriental systems. The same can be said of the application of the notions "land property" and "rent" to explain pre-industrial social relations. It becomes also evident that the typology of societies (civilizations, cultures) based exclusively upon economic criteria, important as they are for understanding the unique place of Europe in the world history, is a deficient tool when one gets down to analyzing variations among strikingly different (as to their historical fate, forms of life, social institutions and spiritual products) cultural and social worlds such as China, India, Islamic countries etc., all subsumed into the class of feudal oriental societies.

The article asserts that instead of trying to account for all these dissimilarities proceeding from the premises of economic determinism historians must employ a systematic approach attaching equal importance to all social processes and seeing them as interdependent and creating conditions for each other rather than being interlocked into a causal chain. A convenient way of systematizing social processes, in order to see how certain of them receive primacy over others in various types of social systems and to make this variability the basis for a typology, is provided by T. Parsons' model of the social system with its functional subsystems and various types of mechanisms of social control. In terms of this model western societies can be easily described as those where the adaptive function and the corresponding mechanisms based on inducement (money being the prototypical case) are of major relative importance, while societies of the Turkish-Iranian tradition show all the features of a system with the goal-achievement primacy and the pre-eminent development of the mechanisms of enforcement (power being the prototype). Peculiarities of the Indian civilization, with its caste structure, guru-pupil relations and high standing of the religious hierarchy, can be explained away as the result of the hyperdevelopment of the integrative function and the corresponding preponderance of the mechanisms of persuasion (influence). And finally, the primacy of the value pattern maintenance function gives its special shape to the Chinese type of social structure where the mechanisms of the commitment to the ideal representations of man and society (socio-moral rhetoric) play an outstanding role.

The tentative typology suggested in the article can be seen as an attempt to carry the discussion of various concrete historical structures beyond the purely economic limits and to reconstruct their cultural totality conditioned by their value pattern specifics and the characteristic ways in which different spheres of their functional whole interrelate among themselves.

INDO-ARYANS AND THE SCYTHIAN WORLD: COMMON SOURCES OF IDEOLOGY

L.S. Klejn

The use of the Iranian by the Scythian world was ascertained long ago. However, recently an Indo-Aryan component also has been identified in the Scythian culture (as well as in Scythian language but more reliably), not only as a part of the common Aryan inheritance (such was the interpretation in the well-known book by G.M. Bongard-Levin and E.A. Grantovsky), but as a separate tradition too.

The author tried to find the ground of these ties between the Scythes and the Indo-Aryans. He established that the Scythian steppe culture of the North-Pontic area had its roots not only in the timber-grave culture (the use of the Iranian by Scythes is usually connected with it) but also in the catacomb-grave culture. For a long time archaeologists considered this idea unacceptable because of the

chronological gap between the catacomb-grave culture and the Scythes. However in 1968-1978 materials and studies were published which completely overlapped this gap. The catacomb-grave cultural community is considered by the author as Indo-Aryan because he traced the migration of its bearers via Central Asia into India.

Thus, the common ground for the Indo-Aryan inheritance of the Scythes and the Aryans of India was discovered. A more exact identification of separate similarities in the culture of Scythia and India will serve as a means of examination of the hypothesis. The present article distinguishes six sets of ideas where the Aryans and the Scythes reveal between them the most close affinities from which the Iranians are excluded. These sets have in their centre images of the horse, the God of Thunder, the World Tree, the sacral fire, the funeral rite and the killing of widow.

The common Aryan god Apam Napat, the keeper of the lake with sacral horses, has his collateral in the Scythian god Thagimasad (resp. Poseidon, lat. Neptun), and in the middle of their country the Scythes placed a sanctuary and a lake with wild white horses. But in addition to these common Aryan manifestations of the cult of horse, in the Scythian culture there are traces of the specific Indo-Aryan rite *aswamedha* and a correspondence to the winged horse Dadhikra—a horse-shaped griffin.

Parjanya is the Indo-Aryan god of Thunder, later replaced by Indra-Vertragna. The corresponding Scythian god is unknown by name, he has functions of God of War and is seen in the Ossetian *nari* Batradz. He is said to have been born in an unusual way and is incarnated in sword. The sword is the substitute for the earlier *raira*—the stone battle hammer-axe, broadly represented in catacomb graves of the Bronze Age and—as relics—in the Scythian graves. The myth on one of Indra's deeds (the release of cattle—cows) corresponds to a tale on the Scythian Heracles Targitaos (the release of cattle—bulls), and both mythologies have a tale on the sacral weapon dropped from the sky and marking the king.

The Scythian Goddess of Fire Tabiti coincides with the Indo-Aryan goddess Tapati, and, accordingly, the geometric shapes of the sacral hearths coincide.

Poles without architectural utilitarian functions were discovered in Scythian graves. The fact finds explanation in the Indo-Aryan sacrificial poles which were associated with the Tree of Life. Double graves with skeletons of different sexes in conjugal poses are typical for the catacomb-grave cultures. This is a specific Indo-Aryan rite based on the idea of multiple births. Rudiments of this rite can be found both in the Scythian culture and in India but not in the Iranian culture, except the Scythes. The eschatological conception is common for the Scythes and the Indian Aryans: the dissolution of the dead body in the Mother Earth, while Iranians were submitted to the ban on the profanation of the elements (earth, fire and water) by the dead corpse.

Archaeologists D. Rayevsky (Moscow), D.A. Machinsky and F.R. Balonov (Leningrad) take part in the discussion of the article, as well as orientalists L.A. Lelekov (Moscow), Ya.V. Vasilkov and S.R. Tokhtasyev (Leningrad). In general they supported Klejn's conception while each of them made some critical remarks and additions. Two of the remarks were of general, methodological character: the author's unclear delineation of the Scythian world and the ignoring of an unequal plenitude of records at our disposal. It means that the Iranian records on most ancient times are scantier than the Indo-Aryan records. On this L.S. Klejn replies: the delineation of the Scythian world is unclear because such is the object itself, and we should learn to deal "fuzzy sets"—just like the mathematicians do. One should not exaggerate the scantiness of the Iranian records. Not all of the earlier components of their culture were forced out by the Zoroastrianism, and if the contrast between the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians is important in some respects, this should be held as a point of departure. Even the Zoroastrian tradition itself is not entirely an innovation—it has its roots in archaeological materials. Some of particular remarks of the opponents were accepted by the author, some others not, and the thanked the participants for their advice and support.

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12821

Ulyanovskiy on Influence of October Revolution in Asia

18070047c Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 87 pp 3-9

[Article by R.A. Ulyanovskiy under the rubric "The 70th Anniversary of Great October": "The Role of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the Recent History of the Peoples of Asia and Africa"]

[Text] Some 70 years ago a comparatively backward Russia, the periphery of capitalist Europe, completed a powerful revolutionary spurt into the unknown and for the first time in the history of mankind, the question was posed of eradicating the exploitation of man by man and the building of a society founded on principles of freedom, equality and social justice—a socialist society. Advancement along this path required dogged labor, deprivations and sacrifices, heroism and selflessness on the part of the Soviet people. The Soviet country has stood at the center of the world historical process over all

of the years since the victory of October and has served as a beacon of the fight against imperialism, a symbol of liberation and hope and a source and guarantee of revolution and progress for the international working class and the oppressed peoples of the world.

Historical eras do not always coincide with regular milestones of chronology. In this sense, the beginning of the 20th century could be considered not calendar 1900 but rather 1914, when World War I broke out, destroying the illusion of bourgeois progress and prosperity. The war revealed the crisis with all clarity, and with it the major contradictions of imperialism, showing to what misfortunes and catastrophes it was leading. But the 20th century is also an era of the most dogged struggle to complete the scientific prophecies of Marxism, an era of hope, faith in reason and a celebration of the principles of humanity. And from this point of view there are grounds to reckon its beginning from October 1917. The Great October Socialist Revolution showed people a way out of the catastrophe into which mankind had been driven by imperialism. The omnipotence of imperialism was ended. The creation of a new society was begun in the flames of uprisings and civil wars. Having taken state power, the workers of Russia, led by the Marxist-Leninist Party, for the first time obtained the opportunity for a conscious and purposeful influence on the course of development not only in our country, but in the whole world. That is why the Great October Revolution was not only the beginning of a new era, but also the main event of it. No other event of our century can be compared to it in the scope, might, constancy and benefit of its influence on recent history.

October was the greatest creative and humanitarian act of civilization. The victory of the working class in Russia and the state it created became an unparalleled powerful accelerator of the world revolutionary process. This process has taken on an irreversible nature and is steadily gaining force.

There is no corner of the globe where the wave of October has not rolled. Imperialism had spread its laws practically across the whole world and had made it a unity that was truly palpable. World War I demonstrated that in essence all of mankind had been turned into a hostage of the destructive forces of imperialism. Having joined mankind with a single chain of exploitation, however, imperialism created the conditions for its own overthrow, having put itself into confrontation with all those oppressed and exploited. The break in the chain of imperialism at its weak link, which proved to be tsarist Russia, could not help but evoke a powerful response around the world.

V.I. Lenin, as no one else, was able to embrace all of the international soundings of the October Socialist Revolution. Coming forth with the novel idea of the possibility of advancing toward socialism in one country alone, he was distinctly aware that the revolution in Russia was the beginning of a socialist internationalist revolution

against imperialism¹ that "would be a whole era of acute class struggle and all sorts of social upheavals, a whole series of battles on the most varied of fronts, due to the most diverse of economic and political transformations that had come to a head and required a radical break with old relations."²

The peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial Orient were called upon to play a special role in this truly global process. V.I. Lenin had always displayed an exceptionally great interest in it. He was the first to regard the wave of revolutionary uprisings of the oppressed peoples at the beginning of the century as the "awakening of Asia" under the influence of the first Russian Revolution. After October, the failures of socialist revolution in the West made the anti-imperialist national-liberation movements in the Orient doubly important for the whole course of national and social emancipation around the world. It was becoming clear that the variant for the resolution of the colonial question envisaged earlier by the founders of Marxism and concluding in the self-determination of peoples of the colonies as a result of the coming to power of the proletariat in the mother countries, although accomplished in the environs of tsarist Russia, remained even more problematical for other countries. This advanced the anti-imperialist movement of the oppressed peoples to the forefront and transformed it into a most important factor of the revolutionary process and into a close ally of socialist revolution. "After the period of awakening of the Orient in modern revolution," said V.I. Lenin at the 2nd All-Russian Conference of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the Orient on 22 Nov 19, "will ensue a period of participation of all the peoples of the Orient in deciding the fate of the whole world, so as not to be just the object of enrichment. The peoples of the Orient are spilling over into acting practically and each people deciding the issue of the fate of all mankind."³

V.I. Lenin uncovered the commonality of goals and interests of the socialist revolution in Russia and the national-liberation movements in the Orient. They were united by the struggle against imperialism and for equal rights and the self-determination of nations. They had a common adversary—even in the face of all the diversity in traditions, ideologies, levels of development, class base and the like—and a coincidence of fundamental interests had transformed them into natural allies. V.I. Lenin saw in the unification of the forces of socialism and national liberation a mighty factor for ensuring and accelerating the whole movement of mankind toward socialism. He was the first Marxist who understood the enormous revolutionary role of the struggle of the colonial Orient. To him goes the honor of the creative enrichment of the chief slogan of the communists: **Proletariat of all countries and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!**

Whence the task V.I. Lenin put before the socialist state: "Today our Soviet republic must group around itself all of the teeming peoples of the Orient, so as to wage

together with them the struggle against international imperialism."⁴ This task has remained topical over the whole 70 years of revolution. It will have great significance in the future as well. The forms and subjects of international relations and the conditions and near-term goals of the struggle change, but the Leninist postulate of the unity of world socialism and the national-liberation movement remains an unchanging and fundamental foundation of the foreign policy of peace and progress and a symbol of consistent internationalism. The imperialists understood the whole danger of creating a unified anti-imperialist front on a planetary scale and spared no effort to undermine and paralyze it, to impede the establishment of a union between socialism and the national-liberation movement, to prevent their cohesion in a unified revolutionary stream.

The forms for the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of the two most important revolutionary trends of modern times are diverse. But V.I. Lenin and the Soviet state always noted one of them as a fundamental consideration, due to its complete lack of prospects. The discussion concerns adventurist plans to export revolution. Sometimes these plans have arisen among people who are suffering from the "infantile disorder of leftism" both in communist and in national-liberation movements. The design that was being advanced by certain Indian revolutionaries of an armed march of Indian Muslim emigrants and detachments of border tribes from Soviet Central Asia on India through Afghanistan is well known in particular. It received no support whatsoever on the part of the Soviet republic. They were impatient and inexperienced revolutionaries that were trying to substitute a voluntaristic act for the gradual growth of a revolutionary movement by the masses.

Primitive concepts of the possibility of national liberation and social transformations with the aid of Soviet intervention were discarded, but the ideas of October, the ideas of national independence, the example of socialist construction was a permanent factor of influence on the national-liberation movement and a source of inspiration and decisive political and moral support for the many fighters against colonial slavery.

The October Socialist Revolution demonstrated to the whole world the instability of imperialism and the possibility of fighting it and winning against it. It affirmed that henceforth the struggle against imperialism would be waged continuously, tirelessly and with the full intensity of forces of the republic of the workers and peasants. The heroism and selflessness of the Soviets was called upon for support and solidarity. The successes of socialist construction in industry and agriculture, the enormous achievements in the realm of culture, education, science and health care, evoked the admiration of all people of good will. The world could see clearly what miracles the emancipated energy of the workers could work.

The national policies of the USSR had especial significance for the colonial countries. The recognition of the right of nations to self-determination and its actual embodiment in life put an end to the economic inequality and backwardness of the territories of former tsarist Russia and joined all of the peoples populating the country of the soviets to socialism, convincing them of the fact that socialist revolution was implementing their aspirations in reality. It was namely for that reason that the national policies of the CPSU went far beyond the bounds of the USSR. They led not only to a unification of the working class of Russia with the working masses of its former colonial territories, but were also one of the most important factors facilitating the establishment of union and mutual support between the USSR, the international working class and the hundreds of millions of people in the oppressed countries of Asia and Africa that had become outcasts in their own native lands due to the sway of imperialism, which is indivisible from racism, national discrimination and exploitation. The USSR came forward in defense of all genuinely popular and mass liberation and democratic movements that were defending the right of the enslaved colonial countries to decide their own fate.

The experience of Russia served as a school for the revolutionary and national-liberation movements of the Orient not only because our country was the first to break the chain of imperialism. Tsarist Russia was, like the greatest countries of Asia, a whole world in its gigantic territory, exceptional diversity of national makeup, levels of social and economic development and historical conditions and traditions. It was a bourgeois-landowning imperialist power with an average level of development of capitalism, but a high degree of concentration of production, working class and capital. The enclaves of developed capitalism were surrounded by a tsarism of feudal and pre-feudal remnants. Among the many peoples populating Russia, the Far North, Central Asia and the Caucasus there still remained very strong customs of ancestral structure upon which feudal and capitalist exploitation had left their mark. Russia made a leap to socialism not from capitalism, but rather from pre-capitalist formations. This circumstance relates it to many of the countries of Asia and Africa that have encountered, under different conditions but on an even greater scale, the same problem of a lack of a unified socio-economic formation and the necessity of moving toward socialism under conditions where many of the preconditions for the unimpeded and rapid past development of capitalism free of burdens had not yet been created. Russia demonstrated that the idea expressed by the founders of Marxism on the possibility of colonial countries going over to socialism by bypassing or abbreviating the capitalist stage was realizable in practice under conditions of the victory of socialist revolution in progressive countries. The vicious circle that had for centuries and millennia doomed all of the dreams and efforts of the working classes and the best minds of humanity of establishing social justice had finally been

broken. Russia showed the way and created the opportunity of that internationalist support for the victorious proletariat without which movement along this path proved to be closed to the peoples of the colonial countries.

It is natural that the scope, rate and nature of the revolutionary process in the countries of Asia and Africa were altered after the Great October Socialist Revolution and as a result of its influence. The mighty wave of the first national campaign of *satyagraha* (non-collaboration and non-violent resistance), organized by Mahatma Gandhi, rolled across India (1919-1922). Independence was won in Afghanistan; popular revolution triumphed in Mongolia; the Kemalist revolution occurred in Turkey; the Kajar dynasty was overthrown in Iran; a multitude of uprisings burst out among the Arab peoples; mass ferment grew ever stronger in Indonesia, culminating in the armed uprising of 1926-27; China was seized by anti-imperialist revolution in 1925-27. A congress of oppressed peoples was held in Brussels in 1927 that led to the creation of the Anti-Imperialist League—an international social organization oriented toward mutual understanding between the victorious socialist revolution in Russia and the democratic, including antiwar, movement in the West and national-liberation movements in Asia and Africa. All of this occurred in the first 10 years after October.

In the first years of revolution, the opportunities for supporting liberation movements on the part of the USSR were limited to a certain extent in view of its poor economic potential and in view of the capitalist encirclement, by which the imperialist powers vigilantly supported the isolation of the colonies from the countries of socialism.

After World War II the situation was fundamentally altered. A world socialist system arose. The capitalist encirclement was put to an end. The democratic, workers' revolutionary movement in the West achieved considerable success. The fight of the oppressed peoples for self-determination entered its concluding stages, and the fall of the world colonial system began. The proclamation of the independence of India and the formation of the PRC were important milestones in the formation of a fundamentally new phenomenon of enormous historical importance—the appearance of major independent states on the territory of former colonies and semi-colonies. This process gathered force rapidly with the all-round support of the Soviet people.

Relations between the USSR and the oppressed peoples were raised to a new, state level. Now no imperialist states were standing between them. Collaboration became open and broad. The gravitation of the developing countries to this collaboration was natural. It was a result of long-held sympathies and historical ties, the unwavering solidarity of the USSR with their liberation

struggles, the importance of Soviet aid and the coincidence of fundamental interests in the fight against imperialism. The non-aligned movement, arising in the middle of the 1950s, became an important factor in this collaboration and a symbol and manifestation of the independence of the developing states from imperialism. The countries that had thrown off the colonial yoke and rejected the policies of the military blocs thrown together by the imperialist powers in Asia refused to follow their political course based on anti-Sovietism and anticommunism. They announced their own positions and a desire to reinforce ties with the world of socialism on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. This was a revolutionary turnaround in thinking and in international relations. The former colonial periphery had moved away from its masters and the imperialists proved to be isolated, while on a number of most important issues the non-aligned countries came out as one with the socialist camp.

In all of their speeches aimed at defending their sovereignty and equality, the young states received the full support of the USSR and the other countries of socialism in international forums, and first and foremost in the UN. The complete liquidation of colonialism and apartheid have become our common goal. Relations have also developed successfully on a bilateral basis. Many countries have obtained invaluable financial, material, defense, technical and scientific aid from the USSR in surmounting backwardness and creating the foundations of modern industry, agriculture, education, health care and culture. Such historical construction projects and Bkhilai and Aswan have become a symbol of the fraternal collaboration of the peoples of the USSR and the developing countries. The fighters of the liberation movement, which had to take up arms in order to defend the right of their nations to free development, know what the support of the countries of socialism meant for them. During the Suez crisis and the overt Anglo-French-Israeli aggressions against Egypt, the Indo-Pakistani conflict during the Bangladesh fight for liberation, the fight of Indonesia in West Irian and the years of U.S. intervention in Vietnam, the whole world became convinced what an enormous role the USSR plays in ensuring the freedom and independence of former colonial peoples. The influence of the powerful socialist camp has not only restrained the aspirations of the imperialist aggressors, it has created an opportunity for defending genuine political and economic independence and conducting an independent course in domestic and foreign policy. The peoples of the developing countries are convinced that the omnipotence has been ended, that an alternative system ready to come to the aid of those who are courageously defending their rights and dignity has arisen.

The aid of the Soviet Union to the developing countries has increased steadily and has had a direct influence on the course of their struggle. The collapse of the world colonial system in such a short period of time—a total of only two-three decades since the end of World War II—

is inconceivable without it. The victory over fascism and Japanese militarism in that war, marking the onset of a new stage in the overall crisis of imperialism, has liberated over half of humanity from colonial slavery and has become one of the most significant manifestations of the truly worldwide liberating mission of October.

A great turnaround has occurred in the life of the peoples of Asia and Africa. The prophecy of V.I. Lenin that every people should take part in deciding the fate of all mankind is coming true to its full extent today. National sovereignty is creating the preconditions for this. But the tasks that remain unresolved for the developing countries are still great, serious and difficult.

First and foremost, the last seats of racism, apartheid and colonialism must be eliminated as soon as possible. A challenge to the peoples of Asia and Africa and to all of world society, they not only trample the elementary rights of the indigenous population, but also destabilize the situation in adjoining regions, engender confrontation, create regional conflicts, organize provocations and disrupt the creative efforts of the people. Racism and apartheid are a serious and growing danger to peace in Africa and on the whole planet.

The developing countries are encountering many difficulties. The majority of them cannot supply themselves with food and their production, including in the state sector, is not efficient enough. Many problems are being created by rapid population growth, social contradictions are acute, separatist, tribal and regional tendencies are powerful and conflicts among castes and some religious communes and tribes are frequent. Political regimes are not distinguished by stability in many countries. All of these difficulties have taken on especial acuity to a considerable extent thanks to the fact that they accumulated and deepened over the course of many years of colonial rule, while under the current conditions of independence they have splashed to the surface and require the most rapid possible solution. This is all the more important as pro-imperialist forces, as a rule, stand behind these contradictions and conflicts.

An extremely unfavorable outward background for the solution of the cited problems is created by imperialist intervention and the economic exploitation of backwardness. The winning of independence was not able to put an end to oppression. Imperialism adapts to new conditions. Being unable to resort to overt political pressure in the majority of cases, it is continuing to accomplish the economic plundering of the former colonial and dependent countries by various means. As was mentioned in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, imperialism "has been able to create and perfect a most refined system of neocolonial exploitation."³ Multinational corporations and international organizations (the World Bank, the IMF), controlled by the monopolies, are becoming the chief agents of neocolonialism. The astronomical numbers for the foreign debt of the countries of Asia, Africa

and Latin America to the capitalist West, which debt already exceeds a trillion dollars, testifies to the rise in intensiveness of imperialist exploitation.

Neocolonialism, in all of its forms, be they economic, political, military or ideological, is the chief impediment to progress for Asian and African countries. In the fight against it, the developing countries enjoy the full support of the Soviet Union and the world socialist community.

Finally, there is another problem of a genuinely global scale on the resolution of which the future of Asia and Africa and the whole world depends. This is averting war. The nuclear era has posed this question in quite a new way. It requires, as was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, new thinking, a recognition of the fact that war has ceased to be a means for implementing policy, that world war today can only lead to catastrophe and universal ruin.

The young states of Asia and Africa have a prominent role in efforts to avert a fatal turn of events. They already have good traditions of fighting against imperialism, of non-alignment as first and foremost an anti-imperialist position, an affirmation of principles of peaceful co-existence and good-neighbor relations in international relations. A mutual understanding exists between the socialist countries and the majority of the developing countries in this realm. There are no conflicts between them. Relations between the USSR and many of the countries of Asia and Africa should recognize the prototype of mutually advantageous collaboration, non-intervention in each other's internal affairs and joint efforts in favor of peace. A new way of thinking has already been embodied in the relations of the Soviet Union and the Afro-Asian countries. It is no accident that the signatures of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi, two most authoritative representatives of socialist countries and developing states with a total population of over 1 billion people, are affixed to the fundamentally important document of new thinking called the "Delhi Declaration of Principles of a Non-Violent World Free of Nuclear Weapons." The support of many non-aligned states for the new foreign-policy initiatives of the USSR, the plan of liberation from nuclear weapons by the year 2000, the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing that went on for a year and a half and the like testifies to a broad coincidence of views on all of the basic issues of war and peace. The successful development of relations between the USSR and the countries of Asia and Africa is a result of the correctness of our foreign-policy principles. At their foundation are mutual respect, co-existence and non-intervention in internal affairs. The Soviet Union has rendered and is rendering support not only to like thinkers in those countries; it is in solidarity with the peoples that are defending their right to free development, whatever path and whatever ideology they choose.

The USSR has entered a period of radical restructuring of its economic system in full accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the requirements of scientific and technical revolution. A profound transformation of the whole superstructure realm of life in Soviet society is also beginning, and together they will ultimately lead to an acceleration of socio-economic and cultural processes in the country. The restructuring of the life of Soviet society that is being implemented is a direct continuation and deepening of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The restructuring of the socio-economic system of our country, the democratization of the life of the popular masses and the management of the country and openness and glasnost as constituent elements of this most profound process will inevitably lead to an even greater convergence of the Soviet Union with the peoples fighting against imperialist neocolonialism. These peoples will derive their power with new energy from the socio-economic acceleration of the development of the great country of the soviets.

Almost seven decades ago, V.I. Lenin called for the unification of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of all countries. Much has changed since that time. The workers in the socialist countries have come to power in their states. The oppressed peoples have won political self-determination. But the need for the greatest possible unity between them has never been as persistent as today, when the imperialism of the United States has put before mankind the real threat of worldwide nuclear war. We see an embodiment of Leninist precepts in the further convergence of the countries of socialism with the peoples and states of Asia and Africa. Such a convergence corresponds completely to the new thinking of the 20th century, its dictated by the interests of all peoples of the globe and serves humanitarianism, peace and progress.

Footnotes

1. See: V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, vol. 26, p 328.

2. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, vol. 54, p 464.

3. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, vol. 39, p 328.

4. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, vol. 39, p 329.

5. Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow, 1986, pp 16-17.

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'Bourgeois' Scholars' Views of Asia-Pacific Security Critiqued

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[Article by V.F. Pryakhin: "Bourgeois Political Science and the Problems of Peace in the Asian-Pacific Region"]

[Text] The broad-scale comprehensive program to ensure peace, security and collaboration in the Asian-Pacific region advanced by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev on 28 Jul 86 in Vladivostok and substantiated by him during his official friendly visit to India in November 1986 presupposes the rejection of many traditional stereotypes of political thought.

Two opposing world views and two conceptions of international security are encountered in the approach to the problems of peace and security in the region. The Soviet concept is traditionally founded on the principle of the indivisibility of peace, the necessity of preserving and strengthening it, uniting the efforts of the states of all regions, both large and small countries, for these purposes based on the principle of a solitary security for all states. A specific plan for ensuring international security that was advanced by the Soviet Union as early as 1933 envisaged the conclusion of regional mutual-aid agreements; the draft of the Pacific Ocean Pact was proposed among these. Even in those time, Soviet diplomacy strove not only to ensure the effective defense of states from aggression, but to avert it as well, to prevent the appearance of seats of military conflict. As M.M. Litvinov emphasized, the value of the mutual-aid pacts proposed by the USSR consisted not so much in those real guarantees of military defense that they "sanctioned, as in the psychological impact they created during the period before the beginning of military action."¹ Even in our time, the Soviet Union proceeds from the fact that eliminating seats of military conflict and ensuring security in the region is a most important direction for the creation of an all-encompassing system of international security.²

The policy of ensuring a solitary security for all under conditions of an indivisible, mutually dependent and integral peace opposes the traditional course of bourgeois diplomacy of ensuring security by means of: a) a continuous increase in and qualitative improvement of military potential and the development of new military doctrines; and b) linking up in "winning" military and political coalitions in the event that they cannot create coalitions under their own leadership.

The term "focal point of security" that was put into political circulation at the beginning of the 1970s by the prominent American political scientist and political figure representing the school of so-called "political realism," Z. Brzezinski, for example, is a concentrated expression of this policy.³ The search for "focal points of security" leads automatically, according to his plan, to a

search for the best opportunities for the United States to dominate and limit the security interests of other states. It is typical that at the beginning of the 1980s Z. Brzezinski had already come out openly in favor of the creation of a "superbloc" under American leadership to oppose the USSR.

The typical approach of bourgeois history and political science to the problems of international security can be detected in theoretical and feature works today as well. The extensive anthologies called "World Politics. Structures—Motive Forces—Prospects" and "Asian-Pacific Security. Emerging Challenges and Responses,"⁴ coming out under the aegis of the West German Foreign Policy Society and the American Association of Researchers of International Relations respectively, can serve as examples of this. The authors of both anthologies proceed in their evaluations from the ever-growing significance of the region in the world political situation, which they consider first and foremost a strategic-military situation.

The Asian-Pacific region, feel Professor L. Grinter of the U.S. Air Force Command College and Professor W. Kihl of Iowa State University, is one of the most dynamically developing regions of the world. It bears the threat of conflicts in both military and the political senses, where the interests of the four major powers of the world intersect—the United States, the USSR, China and Japan. For the United States it is also the region of the greatest application of military potential in the course of the three major conflicts in which it has taken part—World War II, the Korean War and the war in Indochina. At the same time, this region is exceedingly important on the plane of world economics and trade. "The Asian-Pacific region could become the most powerful economic center in the world in the not-so-distant future."⁵

Both anthologies demonstrate typical features of the traditional political thinking characteristic of bourgeois diplomacy since the times of Machiavelli.

First of all, all questions of security are considered to be derivative of the correlation of military forces in the region. Second, a calculated concept of the need of the Asian states to oppose the "Soviet threat" are the implicit foundation of all of the postulates of the "balance of power." Third, the majority of the geopolitical constructs offered to describe the situation in the region and the prospects for its development proceed in this or that form from the desire and necessity of utilizing the infamous "China card" for anti-Soviet purposes. The intrinsic foreign-policy interests of the PRC—developing dynamically along the path of modernizing the socialist state—are either completely ignored or are falsely interpreted therein. Fourth, a manifestation of inter-imperialist contradictions between various components of the "balance of power" and the aspirations of each of the states to take the position of "focal point" or,

more precisely, "balancer" of the unstable military and political equation can be detected in the theoretical research and recommendations of the authors.

The majority of bourgeois authors consider the Asian-Pacific region to be one zone of confrontation in the "great clash" between the USSR and the United States. The chief axis of contradictions in the region, in the opinion of the editors and compilers of the "Asian-Pacific Security" anthology, for the foreseeable period will be the contradiction between the United States and its allies, on the one hand, and the USSR and its allies, on the other. The United States, China, Japan, the ASEAN countries and a group of small states and formations in the region oppose the USSR, Vietnam and North Korea, write L. Grinter and W. Kihl, substituting wishful thinking for reality.⁶ Herein, supposes Z. Brzezinski, "one must proceed from one basic position: the American-Soviet rivalry is not some temporary delusion, but an historical confrontation that will continue for a long time. This confrontation is of a global nature, but it has clearly expressed geopolitical priorities, and for victory the United States should conduct it based on permanent and world strategic perspectives."⁷

This candidly neoglobalist concept of Z. Brzezinski corresponds to a certain extent to the evaluations and recommendations of some Japanese authors, especially Professor of International Relations M. Nishihara of the National Academy of the Self-Defense Forces. Describing the role of Japan in the Asian-Pacific region, M. Nishihara feels that the mission of convincing the other Asian governments that its "full" defensive potential (when it is achieved), as well as collaboration between Japan and the United States in the realm of defense within the framework of a security treaty, will provide "a reliable defensive shield" for the whole region has fallen to its lot. The author reserves an important place for ASEAN, upon which he would also like to place "defensive" functions. The role of Japan is reduced therein to ensuring the "front line of defense for ASEAN." An "adequately" armed Japan, M. Nishihara emphasizes, would signify a "gain" for South Korea and China.⁸

It is typical that M. Nishihara, like his colleague M. Sase at the National Academy of the Self-Defense Forces, in no way allows the possibility of reducing the level of militarization in the Asian-Pacific region. And this is at the same time as the USSR is proposing the implementation of a whole series of measures aimed at weakening tensions and reinforcing the security of all of the states in the region. I have in mind in particular the joint efforts to extinguish seats of tension, block paths of dissemination and growth in nuclear arms, devise steps for trust and guarantees of the non-application of force and to limit the activeness of navies and military presences overall in the basins of the Pacific and Indian oceans.

American specialists on Southeast Asia include first of all "the continuing growth of Soviet military potential" among the principal trends determining the formation of

the situation in the Asian-Pacific region within the framework of the geopolitical cliché of Z. Brzezinski set forth above. "The Russians," acknowledge W. Kihl and L. Grinter, "have every right to the role of great power in Asia and the Pacific. Three quarters of their territory and the major portion of its power and mineral resources are located in this region."⁹ Southeast Asia, however, they write, represents a region of instability to the Soviet Union from which a threat issues. As a result, Soviet policy in Asia is supposedly of an "imbalanced" nature. The military and force components, they say, predominate in it, and it is lacking in constructive political and economic proposals.¹⁰

In drawing a distorted picture of the situation in the region, the American authors naturally cannot but know that it is namely the United States that is the initiator of the arms race here. It is namely the United States that brought nuclear weapons into the region, its armed forces that were used for aggressive purposes in direct proximity to the USSR in Korea and it that unleashed large-scale aggression against the peoples of Indochina in the 1960s and 1970s. Even today they are the suppliers of arms to a regime that represents no one on territory that is legally Chinese—the island of Taiwan. Ignoring facts that testify to the neoglobalist aspirations of the United States in the Asian-Pacific region is essential for the conservative American political scientists to substantiate the second "long-term trend" that, in their opinion, defines the long-term prospects of the situation, and namely the "slow compensation" of the military "imbalance" in Southeast Asia by the United States. Rejecting the policy of "departure beyond the horizon" that was conducted under the Carter administration, the Reagan administration has halted the reduction in U.S. military presence in the Asian-Pacific region and, on the contrary, has set about the consistent modernization and increase of the armed forces of the United States and its allies here. Despite the facts, however, L. Grinter and W. Kihl assert that changes in the policies of the United States are not leading to the restoration of U.S. military superiority, since the Russians, they say, "are exceedingly dynamically increasing their own military presence in the Asian-Pacific region."¹¹

The increasing military presence of the United States in the region is necessary in order to undertake another adventure of the type of the inglorious war in Indochina. The future, declare L. Grinter and W. Kihl, requires the "multi-layering" of the burden "to maintain the status-quo in the Asian-Pacific region."

The future of the region, in their opinion, is connected with the effect of such a factor as the significance of Southeast Asia as one of the regions of the most dynamic trade and investment activity in the world. This factor makes possible the formation of their own military potentials by the countries in the region without "superstraining" their resources. "Naturally," it is noted, for example, in the book being considered, "Japan, the

richest country in the region, could double or even triple its spending for military needs without any negative consequences for its economy whatsoever."¹²

"Keeping in mind the growth rate of the gross national product in the countries of Southeast Asia (an average of 6 to 9 percent) in recent years, it can be assumed," write L. Grinter and J. Kihl in this regard, "that their ability to pay for arms is also increasing."¹³ Whence the authors conclude that a "re-orientation" in the distribution of the burden "of maintaining security" in Southeast Asia is essential, although, they acknowledge, many Asian states, for reasons "of a political sort," are inclined to preserve the dependence on the United States in maintaining their security.

The authors thus speak out in favor of the following plan of action: The United States, while constantly increasing its own strategic forces, guarantees the status quo from the "Soviet military threat." Japan, South Korea and ASEAN (L. Grinter and W. Kihl persistently advise them to form a military alliance) would do "the dirty work" of immediately repulsing the "Soviet threat" on the spot. And all of the "dynamically developing" Southeast Asian countries spend the accumulations they are forming for the procurement of American arms.

Naturally, Z. Brzezinski, the West Germans and the Japanese authors cannot cite a single bit of proof of "Soviet aggression." L. Grinter and W. Kihl, it is true, write about some supposedly great danger to stability in the region represented by the "undermining activity" of the Soviet embassy in the Philippines.¹⁴ But even they cannot explain why the American naval and air-force bases at Subic Bay and Clark, the might of the whole U.S. Seventh Fleet and the nuclear-armed aircraft based at Misawa are proving inadequate to neutralize the "undermining activity."

The matter, of course, consists not of a "Soviet threat," but rather of the fact that the peoples and governments of the Asian-Pacific region want to determine their path of development themselves without dictate from across the ocean. And even the American geostrategists acknowledge this when they write about "multi-layering" the personnel of the bases at Subic Bay and Clark by including military contingents of the ASEAN countries in them. L. Grinter and J. Kihl write of the anti-American sentiment in the Philippines,¹⁵ a sentiment that has determined the political climate in the country since the United States, under the pretext of assisting the Philippine revolution, turned this country into a colony. The anti-American sentiment arose as early as the beginning of the century, and thus it is absurd to consider the source of it to be the activity of the Soviet embassy in the Philippines. In ascribing expansionist aspirations alien to the very nature of the socialist social order to the USSR, seemingly sound bourgeois researchers tumble into the positions of primitive anticommunist propaganda. They glorify the capitalist mode of production therein as the sole one able to bring the Asian countries

to prosperity. Professor D. Oberndorfer of Freiburg University (West Germany) thus explains the economic achievements of some Asian states (South Korea, Japan, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand, as well as Taiwan and Hong Kong) by the fact that their socio-cultural traditions fostered the adoption of "Western methods of production."¹⁶ At the same time, the major successes of Vietnam, North Korea, China and Mongolia, achieved under immeasurably more difficult historical conditions than those of any country of ASEAN, are unmentioned or are explained by the import of Western technology (China).

Assistance in forming an "unofficial strategic triad" in the region aimed against the USSR—in which the author would like to include the United States, Japan and China, organizing close economic and political collaboration among them—is included by Z. Brzezinski as one of "four broad geopolitical priorities" of the United States in the international arena.¹⁷ Such an alliance would pale in significance to the relations of the United States with the Western European NATO allies, but it would be, in Brzezinski's opinion, more important than reinforcing U.S. positions in the "soft underbelly" of southwestern Asia and supporting anti-socialist elements in the Warsaw Pact countries.

The lack of realism in such geopolitical postulations is even noted by American authors themselves. In a book that came out in the United States edited by Professor J. Hsiung, official Washington is subjected to criticism for its inability to be oriented toward and give a correct treatment to its mutual relations with Peking.¹⁸ If the United States does not restructure its approach both in international relations overall and toward China in particular, feel the authors representing the prestigious Institute of Contemporary Asian Research, it can ultimately prove to be in dangerous isolation. The situation is becoming even more dangerous, since the PRC will gradually be transformed into a powerful state with ever growing potential (into a "superpower," as J. Hsiung writes). The hopes of the American ruling circles for the disintegration of the political and ideological system of the PRC, the researchers feel, are "simply ludicrous against a background of the domestic political measures being undertaken by China."¹⁹

In summarizing the evaluations and forecasts concerning U.S. policy in relation to the PRC, R. Satter, a specialist on Asian affairs for the U.S. Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, notes that American foreign-policy advisers proceed from a supposedly noted tendency to diminish the strategic significance of China as an "ally" of the United States. China, R. Satter feels, could hardly collaborate with the United States against the Soviet Union; it is concentrating its attention on the practical tasks of economic modernization and internal development. At the same time, the "excessive" demands of China regarding Taiwan are preserved. The increase and qualitative improvement of the United

States would reduce their dependence on political alliance with Peking. The value of such an alliance is diminished, since "other allies"—the Western European member countries of NATO and Japan—are displaying a readiness to collaborate with Washington "as never before." Japan and the ASEAN countries are more important for the United States, since they provide strategic access to the regions of Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.²⁰

The evaluations by R. Satter are permeated throughout with the geostrategic principles of the American school of "political realism." This is testified to, for example, by the definition of the positions of the PRC on the question of Taiwan as "excessive pretensions." R. Satter has nonetheless succeeded, albeit from incorrect methodological positions, in reflecting the real political processes transpiring in the Asian-Pacific region overall and in American-Chinese relations in particular.

A group of researchers united around the foreign-policy staff of the Democratic Party, as opposed to the overt anti-Soviet postulates of the "balance of power" in the region in the spirit of the "geostrategic priority" of Z. Brzezinski, is proposing "a shift of American policy in relation to China onto a fundamentally new track." The point of departure for this policy should be connected with harmonious interaction in the "Moscow-Washington-Peking triad." This assumes the rejection of efforts to play the "China card." The establishment of of more sensible relations with the USSR is proposed as a first step toward the new policy (first of all on issues of limiting the arms race). As a result, these political scientists feel, the United States will take a more favorable position in the "triad" in view of its considerable "technological supremacy, while the USSR and the PRC will, in their opinion, strive to expand their ties with America for that reason."²¹

This scheme for the development of relations among the USSR, China and the United States is doubtless more realistic than betting on isolating the USSR from collaborating with the countries in the Asian-Pacific region, although a utopian goal of achieving political and economic hegemony by the United States in the region can still be discerned.

The aforementioned idea of Z. Brzezinski regarding the creation of an "unofficial strategic triad" aiming its point at the USSR is finding understanding among a certain portion of Japanese researchers, and in particular Professor M. Sase of the National Academy of the Self-Defense Forces. M. Sase, like his colleague M. Nishihara, recognizes that business people in Japan are placing great hopes on expanding economic collaboration with the Soviet Union. But M. Sase asserts that the possibility for constructive dialogue between the USSR and Japan is being blocked by the notorious problem of the "northern territories," declaring furthermore that there are no proposals from the Soviet side, he says, for

profitable large-scale projects and that the USSR supposedly offers no goods that Japan could import. Passing off wishful thinking for reality, he writes that Japanese business circles have supposedly already "reconciled themselves" to the impossibility of re-animating Japanese-Soviet economic ties in the near future.²²

After the late American political scientist G. Kahn, M. Sase and M. Nishihara feel that the coming center of world economics and trade will shift from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Reflecting the views of militarist circles in Tokyo, they are striving to put the USSR outside the bounds of the emerging "Pacific community."²³ They are ignoring most important world economic factors therein, including the circumstance that Soviet participation in the "Pacific economic community" would be facilitated to a considerable extent by accelerating the realization of the expectations associated with it. Coming out against such participation, M. Sase and M. Nishihara are not thinking so much in economic terms as in geopolitical ones.

The policy of excommunicating the USSR from economic collaboration in the region earns the praise of Z. Brzezinski. At the same time, he speaks of the necessity of "displaying extreme caution in evaluating the rate and scale of increase of Japanese military might," feeling that "Japan could make a very significant contribution to ensuring international security not via and increase in arms, but by allocating more funds to the economic development of Pakistan, Egypt and Central America."²⁴

Whereas the American authors display a certain caution in relation to Japanese militarism, West German bourgeois political scientists will accept any disposition of forces in the "United States-Japan-China triad" as long as it is directed against the USSR. The most important thing for them, as the leader of a working group on "Sinocommunist" at the Federal Institute for Research in Oriental Studies and International Relations, D. Heinzig, writes is "to use market competition offered by the United States and the political West (the author includes Japan in the concept of the 'political West'—V.P.) in the strategic triad to oppose the Soviet Union with the necessary caution and at the same time as effectively as possible."²⁵

The direction of geopolitical and geostrategic research touched on by D. Heinzig is continued by an academic associate of the West German Institute of International Politics and Security (Ebenhausen), J. Glaubitz. He touches on the genesis and prospects for solving the Taiwan problem, Chinese-Japanese differences due to the ownership of islands in the East China Sea and conflicts in Southeast and Northeast Asia, as well as in the South China Sea. He considers separately the problem of the "northern territories" in relations between Japan and the Soviet Union, as well as the confrontation on the Korean peninsula.

In his approach to the cited problems, as well as the issue of Asian security overall, J. Glaubitz strives quite obviously to oppose the USSR to the other countries of the Asian-Pacific region, and detente in Europe to that in Asia.

Ignoring the circumstance that the presence of serious seats of tension has been brought about by U.S. policies and their actual occupation of South Korea and Taiwan, the West German political scientist asserts that a process of detente has occurred in eastern Asia simultaneously with the analogous process in Europe, relations between China and the United States and Japan and the ASEAN countries have begun to improve and common interests have begun to move to the forefront. The chief honor for this (as for the appearance of detente in Europe) belongs herein to the United States, and not to the Soviet Union, whose adherence to detente is supposedly limited Europe and who supposedly has a critical attitude toward detente in eastern Asia, since it is, he says, against its interests.

In perverting the actual state of affairs, this interpretation of the issue of security in the Asian-Pacific region is needed by J. Glaubitz to substantiate the assertions that the Soviet Union has no serious political influence in eastern and northeastern Asia. "China, Japan and the United States," he writes, "are the dominant states here, and their interests coincide at least in keeping the Soviet Union far from the region."²⁶

The geopolitical machinations lying at the heart of these conceptions of the West German authors are obvious—they reflect the positions of the ruling circles of West Germany. "Conflict between Moscow and Peking..." wrote, in particular, Bundestag CDU-CSU Working Committee on Foreign-Policy Issues Chairman E. Majonica, "improves Western and, along with them, German positions. It binds the Soviet Union and limits its freedom to conduct negotiations."²⁷ The ignoring of the active role and independent foreign-policy interests of the PRC is typical of West German "geopolitical scientists" both in 1965 and in our day—it was and is figured in their postulations to be just the notorious "China card." And the discussion, moreover, concerns a great socialist state playing a large role in the fate of the world and the security and development of the Asian-Pacific region, a state to relations with which the Soviet Union imparts exceptionally great significance. "History has given the Soviet and Chinese peoples an extremely crucial mission," emphasized M.S. Gorbachev, "and much in international development depends on the two largest socialist states."²⁸

Bourgeois political scientists are striving to put into the Procrustean bed of "limited detente" such positive facts of mutual relations that determine much between the USSR and China as regular meetings of the heads of states of governments, political consultations at the level of special government representatives of the rank of deputy minister of foreign affairs and the exchange of

delegations from supreme legislative organs that have taken place for the first time after a more than 20-year interruption. The progress achieved in setting up contacts between the leading political figures of both countries is also treated as "limited detente" by bourgeois authors.

The commonality or similarity of the positions of the USSR and the PRC on a whole series of topical international problems also goes beyond the bounds of "limited detente." Both socialist nuclear states have unilaterally adopted a resolution on no first use of nuclear weapons. The positions of the USSR and China are also close or coincide on such issues as the complete and universal banning of nuclear-weapons testing, the inadmissibility of militarizing outer space and the situation in the Near East, southern Africa and Central America.

The USSR has a regard for the the role of the PRC as a great power conducting separate and independent policies, respects its legal interests and supports its positions, for example, on the issue of Taiwan as an indivisible part of China. In the opinion of the Soviet side, which has been repeatedly expressed at the summit level, such objective factors as the similarity of the socio-economic order, geographical proximity, coincidence of tasks being resolved aimed at accelerating socio-economic progress and the needs of the national economies of the two countries can and should foster the further development of Sino-Soviet relations on the basis of a strict observance of the principles of mutual advantage and respect for sovereignty. The process of normalization of Sino-Soviet relations is not transpiring, as opposed to all sorts of geopolitical constructs of in the spirit of the notorious "United States-China-Japan triad," as has been repeatedly declared, at the expense of third countries herein.

...

The geopolitical constructs of bourgeois political scientists regarding the situation in the Asian-Pacific region prove to be unable to show a way out of the extremely acute contradictions being manifested in the region between the various centers of power in the capitalist world.

For the United States, as becomes clear from the aforementioned statements of Z. Brzezinski, the large-scale militarization of Japan, in which a certain portion of its ruling circles are displaying a vested interest, is unacceptable. At the same time, the Western European partners of the United States in NATO would prefer that Japan increase its military spending and weaken its "economic press" on the world market. B. Junemann, editor of the West German daily *Wirtschaftswoche*, is troubled by the "Pacific challenge" to Western Europe, affirming the well-known theory of American political scientist G. Kahn on the gradual displacement of the center of gravity in world politics and economics from the Atlantic to the Pacific. As early as 1977, writes B.

Junemann with alarm, the countries of the region had knocked Western Europe out of the place of chief trading partner with the United States. Whereas the United States has a current trade surplus in trade with Western Europe, the deficit has reached a record level in trade with the countries of the Asian-Pacific region—some 34 billion dollars. The chief component of the "Asian economic miracle," writes Junemann, is the progress of Japan. Right behind Japan follow the "four little dragons"—South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. Quite recently, grieves the West German economist, they were included among the developing states, and now they have turned into "young industrial countries." Hong Kong and Singapore have entered among the most important financial centers of the world. The export volume of the "four dragons" is four times that of all of the countries of Latin America etc. The rate of socio-economic development of the non-island ASEAN member countries is also considerable.

The rapid economic development of the countries in the Asian-Pacific region, Junemann feels, should be no cause for alarm in Western Europe. At the same time, he calls upon Western European businessmen to "learn from their competitors," first and foremost the Japanese, without waiving thereby the "values of European capitalist civilization."²⁹

As for military issues, the practical recommendations of Western authors to their governments in this connection are quite decisive and categorical. Here, for example, is how the authors of the anthology "Asian-Pacific Security" propose the government of the United States act in the region:

—the United States should affirm its obligations and its determination to render assistance in the defense of the region, thereby ensuring security for continuing economic growth and political stability;

—its should continue efforts to "multi-layer" the defense of the Sea of Japan zone and its three main straits, striving thereby toward convergence with Japan and South Korea in implementing military planning and conducting military operations in the region;

—it should strive to transform ASEAN into a military grouping that puts pressure on Vietnam;

—it is important to support the "selective arming" of China against the USSR with a guarantee that China will not use the weapons obtained against any other country than the USSR;

—the zone of naval maneuvers conducted by the United States and its allies in the Asian-Pacific region under the code name of RIMPAC should be expanded; the forces of ANZUS and Japanese observers, as well as the countries of ASEAN and South Korea, should be included in this sphere along with Canada.

—the United States should foster a liberalization of trade in the region between the Asian-Pacific countries based on the principles of the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade]; markets should be opened for countries that follow the corresponding economic and political lines.³⁰

These recommendations contain no attempts to find a way to untie the truly complex interweavings of political interests in the region, reduce the level of military confrontation and limit the activeness of land and naval forces or any concern for the development of economic, scientific, technical and cultural collaboration among the countries of the region.

In the face of all of the outward distinctions in the concepts of the bourgeois geopolitical scientists that have been considered, a common trait of them is ignoring the interests of the states and peoples of the Asian-Pacific region themselves and their active role in the world political process. The term "peaceful co-existence," adopted in the research on the topic of European security, is not used by the bourgeois authors in relation to Asia at all. Peaceful initiatives of the socialist countries are either not mentioned or are distorted. The initiatives of, for example, the three fraternal countries of Indochina, the Korean Peoples Democratic Republic and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan aimed at reducing tensions and settling situations in certain regions of the continent, moreover have great significance for reinforcing peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region. Under conditions of a growing nuclear threat, the initiatives of North Korea, the countries of Southeast Asia and the southern part of the Pacific Ocean on creating a nuclear-free zone on the Korean peninsula, in Southeast Asia and in Oceania and China's joining of the Rarotonga Treaty are deserving of particular attention. The socialist countries of the region are in favor of the strict observance of the three non-nuclear principles by the non-nuclear states of Asian and the Pacific: "do not produce, do not acquire and do not deploy nuclear weapons on one's territory."

Under today's complex conditions on the continent, the socialist countries feel it is essential to put into widespread practice in international relations the principles of peaceful co-existence, especially the principles of the "Pancha Shila" and the ten principles adopted in 1955 at the conference of Asian and African states in Bandung. They are deeply convinced that the way to reinforce peace and stability and the development of good-neighbor relations and equal and mutually beneficial collaboration among the countries of the continent lies through the arrangement of contacts and dialogue and the holding of meetings and consultations at various levels along with a unification of effort and joint actions by all forces of good will regardless of political convictions, social status and other differences. The socialist countries are ready to welcome all positive proposals aimed at organizing bilateral and multilateral meetings to consider unsettled issues, reinforce trust and achieve common

consent and mutual understanding on the most varied of policies. They feel that the possibility of achieving agreement on the convocation of a broad representative Asia-wide forum similar to the Bandung Conference is real and that it could discuss problems troubling the Asian countries in comprehensive fashion.

The Soviet program of nuclear disarmament and the creation of an all-encompassing system of international security has especial significance in this regard. The realization of this program is vitally essential today for all regions of the world, including Asia. As was emphasized, for example, by the first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Mongolia, D. Yendon, the proposals advanced in the speech of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok "envisage reliable and real ways for re-animating the political climate in the region and reinforcing trust and collaboration among the Asian countries."³¹

...

The objective necessity of creating a mechanism that would ensure the preservation of peace, security and collaboration in the Asian-Pacific region is no less—and in a number of concrete aspects is even more—palpable than in other regions. "The Soviet Union," emphasizes M.S. Gorbachev, "does not divide principles of international politics into European and Asian, and proceeds from the fact that in today's mutually dependent world, the peoples of all continents live with common hopes and fears. We are in favor of peace and good-neighbor relations, trust, mutual understanding and mutual benefit from the exchange of technology, goods and cultural values holding sway in relations among states in the Asian-Pacific region, which is taking on ever greater significance in international life."³²

A constructive approach to the vital problems of the Asian-Pacific region free of any preconceptions is essential in our time. Their resolution, based on principles of justice, will inflict no harm to anyone's national interests. The people of the whole world will gain from it.

Footnotes

1. Foreign Policy Documents of the USSR. Vol. 18. Moscow, 1973, p 234.
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6. Ibid., pp 253-254.
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31. D. Yendon. Peace and Stability in Asia.—*Mezhdunarodnaya politika*. Belgrade, 15 Nov 86, p 8.

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12821

Problems in Third World's Mastery of Information Technology

18070047e Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 87 pp 109-114

[Article by G.I. Marinko under the rubric "Information Neocolonialism and the Developing World": "Social Aspects of the Dissemination of Information Technology in the Liberated Countries"]

[Text] Achievements in such important sectors of scientific and technical revolution as microelectronics technology, computer-information and communications technology and the like in and of themselves can help the developing countries to solve problems in raising labor productivity, improving product quality and optimizing the utilization of labor, raw-material and power resources. Information technology, affecting education, science and health care, is exceedingly important for growth in scientific and technical potential, better training of personnel, the eradication of severe diseases and the like. The incorporation of the achievements of scientific and technical revolution in the realm of information in the liberated countries, however, is materially complicated not only by the low level of scientific and technical development, lack of specialists, dissemination of traditional stereotypes of thinking and behavior and the absence of essential production and non-production infrastructures, but also by unfavorable conditions for technology transfer, the policies of MNCs [multinational corporations] and the effects of crises in the world capitalist economy. The application of the achievements of modern scientific and technical revolution is linked for the developing countries with inordinately high spending for essential scientific research and design developments. The developing countries nonetheless cannot refrain from utilizing them, since this would entail a further strengthening of their scientific and technical and socio-economic backwardness.

Information on the application of microelectronics and information technology in the developing world is limited and incomplete, but it can be ascertained, for example, that the computer is disseminating in the developing countries. According to data from 1981, these countries had 9,398 computers, or 5.7 percent of the total number of computers in the world (164,890 units), although the share is lower in value terms—4.2 percent. Computer technology is distributed quite unevenly in the region: 3.3 percent of the world computer inventory goes to the countries of Latin America,

1.6 to Asia and Oceania, 0.46 to the Near East and 0.33 percent to Africa.¹ In the majority of these countries, computers are used primarily in the commercial and administrative spheres (bookkeeping, sales analysis, account extracts, inventory management, management-information processing etc.). As for more specialized applications of microprocessor and computer technology, figures such as these tell the story: in 1979-80 there were about 130 machine tools with numerical control in India, 325 in Argentina, 649 in Brazil and 1,000 in South Korea. Singapore and Mexico are also among the principal consumers of such machine tools: in 1981-82 they imported 290 and 77 units of the equipment respectively.² The majority of the equipment is used by branches of MNCs and in the sphere of arms production.

The incorporation of microelectronic and information technology is having a contradictory effect on employment. At the initial stages of development of microelectronics, a widespread inclusion of a number of developing countries in the sphere of international capitalist division of labor occurred, especially based on the displacement of labor-intensive types of production and enterprises for the assembly of certain microelectronic devices, primarily domestic ones, in the developing countries. The MNCs, by exploiting the cheap manpower, strengthened their competitive market positions, while the developing countries partially solved the problem of employment, increased their access to the foreign market, increased foreign-currency receipts and raised the overall standard of living. When microelectronics became the foundation for the development and improvement of new technological plans and processes and new types of goods and services, however, the situation was qualitatively altered and the opposite trend was detected. The shift that occurred in the developed states in production and consumption in favor of highly technological goods and services led to a decrease in demand for the export products of the developing countries.³ New power-, materials- and labor-conserving technologies are reducing the need for natural raw materials and are undermining the comparative advantages of low wages for the local workforce. In the words of one of the executives of the Thomson-CSF multinational corporation, "goods on whose production much less power, raw materials and unskilled labor and much more 'intellect' are being expended are becoming the most competitive."⁴ All of this is leading to a relative decline in the shift of a number of types of production to the developing countries: Japanese and American MNCs, for example, are of late curtailing the production of semiconductors in the Third World countries. In accordance with recently announced capital investment programs in the United States, major funding is being allocated for automated enterprises in industrially developed countries.⁵ The penetration of the achievements of microelectronics into industry is leading to more and more complete automation and robotization, while the replacement of the mechanical components with micro-electronic attachments is leading to the elimination of

some important types of production operations (assembly, set-up etc.) and thereby to a reduction in the need for highly skilled specialists in the "traditional" professions. At the same time, the countries with relatively high scientific and technical potential (such as Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, India, Malaysia, Mexico and South Korea) possess, in the opinion of UNIDO experts, considerable opportunities in the sphere of developing software for computers, since this will not require additional capital investment.⁶ This conclusion is disputed by a number of experts, however.⁷ First of all, they note, the relative significance of "built-in" software supplied together with the equipment is growing; second, the complication of programming and programs requires a constant rise in programmers' skills, which entails considerable spending. Finally, research work must be conducted continuously and the world level of development in this realm must be followed in order to preserve competitiveness in the area of program development; this costs much and requires considerable technological and information capacity.

The incorporation and utilization of computer-information technology in the developing countries overall is typified by low efficiency, since the companies that occupy monopoly positions in the markets of the developing countries are concerned with extracting maximum profits, and not with solving problems vitally important to the countries they are in. "Making use of the economic and technological dependence and the unequal position of the liberated countries in the world capitalist economy, imperialism shamelessly exploits them, extracting a multi-billion-dollar tribute and exhausting the economies of these states."⁸

The acute lack of specialists in the realm of incorporating and utilizing information and computer technology and the absence of purposeful programs for their incorporation is leading to the fact that the MNCs can easily sell outmoded or used equipment in the developing countries. In many cases, complex computer equipment is not used for its intended purpose and for the resolution of tasks that could be resolved efficiently on simpler and cheaper equipment. The criteria for the technical obsolescence of equipment employed in the developed countries are mechanically transferred to the developing countries, which entails unfounded replacements and improvements in equipment and increases spending markedly. In one of the Persian Gulf countries the computer inventory was completely replaced three times over seven years and was expanded eight times.⁹ In many cases, the cause for the poor utilization efficiency of modern computer-information technology is the poor conception of the consumer or user of its capabilities and further spending for repairing and operating the computers. Services having access to computers interact poorly among themselves. There are disruptions in power supplies all the time. The computers are poorly loaded in the majority of cases, and their operating capabilities are insufficiently utilized. According to prevailing data, an average of only 65 percent of machine time is utilized in

Egypt, 63 in Kuwait, 37 in Saudi Arabia, 27 in Sudan and 30 percent in Sri Lanka. The analogous situation exists in other developing countries as well.¹⁰ The incorporation of computers is complicated by the poor development of the information infrastructure, the absence of standardization and shortages of key personnel who have mastered modern management methods.

The development of information technology and the appearance of multinational computerized communications systems along which streams of information flow across national boundaries ("cross-border streams") under these conditions entails new forms of dependence. For potential users in the developing countries, for example, it is sometimes more advantageous to send their calculations in the realm of planning and primary data for processing to the developed countries that possess the appropriate information capacity for this. A phenomenon arises therein, however, sometimes called an "electronic brain drain," where specialists in the developed countries are in essence receiving for free the opportunity of exploiting the intellectual potential of the developing countries. The cross-border data streams, processed and stored by computer, are not only turned into an item of trade bringing enormous loot by the developed capitalist countries, but also into a most powerful tool for monitoring, controlling and political and economic pressure. A considerable portion of the cross-border information streams, along with international information, is comprised of business and commercial information (information from banks, insurance companies, tourist firms and airlines, stock data, data on the latest technology, development forecasts, information on the state of affairs in these or those sectors of industry, agriculture etc.). Having concentrated the production of information technology, computers, support equipment and software in their own hands, the developed capitalist countries and the MNCs control the receipt, handling, transmission and dissemination of information, while the developing countries are basically in the role of suppliers of data and purchasers of processed information. In presenting the most varied of data, the developing countries frequently do not even suspect its potential economic, political and social value, which value becomes clear only after the appropriate information processing. The volume and complexity of information has increased considerably, and available information sometimes cannot even be utilized by the developing countries due to a lack of technical, financial and other resources. Moreover, due to the lack of systems for collecting and storing information, these countries are frequently forced to buy information from the developed countries that they themselves put into the system initially. As a result, the primary data is usually transmitted from the developing countries at very low prices, and frequently for free, and it comes back being sold at a higher price.¹¹

Cross-border information streams today are used, for example, in meteorology and civil aviation. The technical achievements of the last three decades, the latest

space and aviation technology and data-processing and telecommunications systems have made marked improvements in meteorological service, on which the developing countries depend more and more in their weather forecasts. Satellite tracking systems, aside from their strategic military significance, make it possible to receive a considerable volume of information on natural resources and climate and to forecast the harvest, and these are used for commercial purposes. The increase in intensiveness, frequency and volume of international air shipping is leading inexorably to the necessity of incorporating the computerized telecommunication, collection, processing and storage of information needed for obtaining weather forecasts, drawing up trade-shipment and passenger schedules, supporting flight management and safety, the operations of ground services etc. In the realm of information support for airline flights, the developing countries are proving to be quite dependent on the developed capitalist countries. The cross-border data streams prepared for civil aviation can also be used for political, military and economic purposes, are of interest from the point of view of individual and social security and are used by police and intelligence services.

Inequality and dependence in the realm of information is being aggravated by the high cost of creating and operating modern information systems. Spending for the use of information coming in from multinational computerized information-system channels is also considerable. In order to be linked with the SWIFT system (Worldwide Society for Interbank Financial Transactions), for example, an initial payment of 50,000 dollars is required; another 5,000 must be paid besides that for the hook-up. Payments for the equipment in a "man-machine" interactive computer mode total 70,000-75,000 dollars, and each query costs from 15 to 90 dollars an hour and the like.¹² The absence of well-ordered channels (official and unofficial) and networks for the receipt of information along with a lack of trained personnel are hindering the expansion and efficient utilization of information in many developing countries. The poor development of libraries, documentation centers, reference services and translation bureaus has a negative effect on information support. The incomplete dissemination of local information prepared by the administration, universities, corporations etc. should also be taken into account.

Many figures and much data testify to the low level of development of the information infrastructure in the developing countries. A report of the International Telecommunications Union and the "Telecommunications for the Purposes of Development" Organization of Economic Collaboration and Development note, for example, that with the preservation of existing trends the process of telephone installation in rural regions in the majority of the developing countries could stretch out to 100 years. In 1982 there were some 550 million telephones in the world, i.e. approximately 10 for every 100 people. The ratio in the United States is 80 per 100, in India 0.3 per 100 and in Ethiopia 0.2 per 100. According

to expert evaluations, the minimum ratio in modern society should be 20 per 100.¹³ Today the developing countries have about 18 percent of the radios and 12 percent of the televisions, i.e. 835 and 101 radios and 394 and 24 televisions per 1,000 people in the developed and developing countries respectively. The prospect of further modern telephone installation, as well as the creation of intrinsic modern information systems for the receipt and storage of statistical data, the development of a printing base and library and archival information-storage services—without which the acceleration of economic and social progress is impossible—seems exceedingly remote, and the developing countries have to carry an unbearable financial burden. The majority of these countries are hardly in any condition to be linked with the new satellite-communications systems of the 1980s, whose creation is accompanied by even greater increases in the expense of receiving and using information. The lag of these countries is strengthened as a result, economic and social difficulties are aggravated and the dependence on imported technology grows.¹⁴

A Canadian specialist in the realm of mass communications, T. MacPhail, considering in detail the problem of transferring modern information technology to the developing countries, calls this process "electronic colonialism." According to his definition, this phenomenon is "an attitude of dependence that arises as a result of the importing of communications technology and information materials produced abroad along with engineers and technicians and the signing of the corresponding agreements, which leads to the imperceptible incorporation of foreign standards, values and priorities that can, to this or that extent, alter the local culture and socialization processes."¹⁵ The support personnel essential to the functioning of the imported equipment bring to the developing countries concepts and professional methods for managing communications systems that may not correspond to the interests of those countries.

The aforementioned brings about the necessity of devising a strategy for fighting this "information imperialism" as one of the most important areas of the fight against neocolonialist expansion. "Without a consistent national information policy and without a well-defined and scientifically grounded strategy for the development of national information media," notes the chairman of the Cuban National UNESCO Commission, E.G. Manet, "the latest equipment and technology transferred by the West is a trap that strengthens the neocolonialist dependency of the developing world."¹⁶

Coming out in favor of equal and just relations in the realm of information exchange and utilization and the development of information technology, some developing countries are developing their own national policies in this realm. At the end of the 1970s, the Indian government, for example, adopted a resolution that any multinational corporation could exploit the information

resources of India only in collaboration with an Indian company on the basis of equal rights. The firm of IBM began to curtail its business operations in the country in response.¹⁷

The IBM-India incident showed the essence of the methods that the information MNCs resort to: offering information services and data-processing equipment on a commercial basis, they most carefully guard the innovative sources of the technology so as to preserve and constantly expand the "technological gap" in this realm.¹⁸ The steps adopted by the Indian government to arrange the production of computers, however, are facilitating a certain weakening in the information and technological dependence of the country on the MNCs; out of 2,000 computers currently functioning in India, some 1,300 were produced locally.¹⁹

International organizations can render certain assistance to the developing countries in defending themselves from the dictate of the MNCs; this could also be facilitated by expanding interaction and mutual aid by the developing states themselves in the realm of technological development in general and the development of electronic technology and information technology in particular. This issue was discussed at a number of international conferences. The intergovernmental Bureau of Information Sciences, with the help of UNESCO, held a conference on the topic "How to Protect the National Information Resources of the Developing Countries from the Control of the Multinational Corporations?" in Madrid in 1978, and the international organization "Data for Development" held a conference in Marseille in 1979 on the topic "National Policy in the Realm of Developing Automated Data Processing."²⁰ The 2nd Intergovernmental Conference on Strategy and Policy in the Realm of Information Sciences (1981) adopted a Declaration on Information Sciences and the World and developed a special program for rendering aid to the developing countries in operating computers, training specialists in information sciences and protecting historical and cultural values.²¹ The International Program for the Development of Communications announced by UNESCO (sometimes called the International Program for the Development of Mass Information Infrastructures in the Developing Countries) has played a material role. Chief among the practical results that have already been achieved is the fact that many important programs to aid the mass media of the developing countries were removed from the sphere of the uncontrolled activity of the monopolies and placed under the aegis of UNESCO.

The fight of the developing countries to establish a new world information order is also receiving support on the part of the USSR and all the socialist states and progressive international organizations. This aid is taking on a concrete nature. UNESCO and the Hungarian firm of SAMALK, for example, have jointly implemented the project "Developing Information Services Using Computers for Professional and Pedagogical Purposes."²²

The system of computer-technology transfer that was developed makes it possible for the developing countries, with the extremely modest expenditure of 10,000 dollars, to create an information-processing system using microprocessors with access to databases. The system can operate in the spheres of industry, trade, education and in scientific and technical libraries. The speed and relative simplicity of its incorporation, as well as the training of support personnel, are making real the application of electronic technology for the purposes of development and are indicating possible methods for advancing along this path.

Footnotes

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11. See: M. Burbridge. Roundup in Rio.—*Datamation*. 1983, No 3, p 190.
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12821

Nonaligned Movement's Call for New Information Order Viewed

18070047f Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 87 pp 115-121

[Article by P.Yu. Molyarov: "The Concept of a New International Information Order in the Strategy of the Non-Aligned Movement"]

[Text] The paths of development of mass media, as well as the issues connected with their utilization, are today becoming one of the most important global problems of modern times; some researchers even consider the aggregate of these problems as a special realm of international relations.¹

This situation has been brought about by a series of factors:

—the ideological struggle between socialism and the national-liberation movement, on the one hand, and imperialism, on the other, has gotten stronger; the mass media are more and more becoming an important tool in this struggle;

—the capability of the mass media having an influence on the formation of the views and convictions of hundreds of millions of people and their attitudes toward existing reality has increased thanks to scientific and technical progress; the responsibility of the international mass media is growing immeasurably in the face of the danger of nuclear catastrophe;

—international scientific and technical and cultural ties have expanded thanks to the systems of mass communications;

—the significance of international information flows for the socio-economic and cultural development of states is increasing;

—the contemporary system of information exchange is typified by colossal disproportions and inequality between the largest imperialist countries and the developing world; as a consequence of that, the mass media are becoming one of the chief weapons of neocolonialism.

Such concepts as "information imperialism" and "information neocolonialism" are currently being used more and more in the theory of international relations—they are understood to mean the imperialist states' process of realizing their monopoly in the sphere of international information and communications to accomplish political and economic expansion and ensure ideological and cultural hegemony in the developing world. The essence of information imperialism consists of the fact that the international system for the dissemination of information in the non-socialist countries is dominated by several multinational corporations that organize and control information flows not only from the Western industrial centers to the developing countries, but often among those countries as well. These corporations possess improved news-dissemination systems from a technical point of view along with enormous financial resources and an extensive staff of skilled specialists. Over 85 percent of the information media of the non-socialist world is currently concentrated in the hands of ten Western companies. Four of the largest Western agencies—AFP, Reuters, UPI and Associated Press—distribute up to 90 percent of all news in the non-socialist world. In 1974 some 92.85 percent of the world export of daily newspapers and magazines fell to the share of the capitalist countries along with 91.5 percent of the books, 91.78 percent of televisions, 78.22 percent of radios, 94.7 percent of magnetic tape and 98.32 percent of photographic and movie apparatus and equipment.² At the same time as the four aforementioned agencies together issue over 32 million words to tens of thousands of subscribers in practically all countries of the world, the capabilities of the news-agency pool of the non-aligned countries is limited to 40,000 words daily.³ There is an even greater discrepancy in televised exchanges. The United States alone exports over 200,000 hours of television programs—a thousand times more than all of the developing countries taken together. The international flows of information from the imperialist centers to the periphery of the world capitalist system, in the opinion of specialists, is roughly a hundred times greater than the amount of information coming from the developing countries.

Entrepreneurship in the field of mass communications has become one of the most accessible types of business, and the processes transpiring in this realm of industry

are being brought about by general trends in the development of imperialism. Private companies specializing in the production of information collection, processing, storage and transmission systems are enormous multi-sector corporations in the imperialist countries that are typified by both horizontal and vertical ties between the production of equipment and the information industry itself, concentrated in the dissemination of products. Currently about fifteen MNCs control by various means the major portion of operations in producing equipment for international communications. Among them can be cited IBM (United States), General Electric (United States), ITT (United States), Phillips (Netherlands), Siemens (West Germany) and Matsushita (Japan).

At the same time, the majority of the information agencies of Asia, Africa and Latin America do not possess modern technical equipment, sufficient financial resources or qualified key personnel to collect information beyond the boundaries of their own countries and thus depend on the leading imperialist agencies. This makes it possible for the imperialist states to have a most immediate influence both on international relations overall and on the political, economic and cultural processes of life in the developing countries. "In ancient times," writes the American researcher F. Williams in this connection, "those who controlled the roads and caravan routes had the power. From the 15th through the 19th centuries, the basis of power was control of the seas. In the 21st century power will belong to those who control the international communications networks."⁴

The expansion of Western mass media gives the imperialists the opportunity to have an active influence on the formation of public opinion in the developing countries and to introduce models, concepts and schemes devised in the interests of the West. The socio-economic and political processes into which the tens and hundreds of millions of people are drawn in the developing countries are often simply ignored if they contradict the interests of the United States, Great Britain or France. Imperialism resorts to spreading false and distorted information to destabilize unacceptable regimes in the developing world and to discredit them before the world community. The existence of military and political conflicts in which a significant number of the developing states are involved either directly or indirectly makes the political climate in many regions of the developing world vulnerable to the influence of the Western information services, who can intentionally distort the aims of the domestic and foreign policies of the sides involved in this or that conflict. This is an additional factor impeding the creation of a system of all-encompassing peace and security.

UNESCO General Secretary A.M. M'Bow expressed it thus: "Everywhere the news agencies make use of their actual monopoly to select news, the audience is systematically brought the phenomenon of tension or violence in Third World countries... These agencies skirt in silence events of a positive nature. As a result of this, the developing countries receive distorted information

about themselves... Such information makes international mutual understanding markedly more difficult... All of this forces the Third World countries to undertake efforts to change the prevailing order."⁵

Especially alarm is caused by the fact that the MNCs are having an ever growing influence on the dissemination of cultural products, educational materials, books, films etc.

The activity of the major Western information and advertising agencies in the developing world is aimed at forming a consumerist psychology among the population, foisting the Western way of life on them and commercializing their cultures, which eases access for monopoly capital to the markets of the developing countries. Commercial Western television, the film industry, the advertising and information agencies and the mass cultural products disseminated with their aid are undermining the historically extant ethnic norms and spiritual values of the people.

The growing influence of the mass media and communications on international relations and the socio-economic and cultural development of peoples has given grounds for widespread international discussions in which governments, non-governmental international and regional organizations, research centers, political figures, journalists etc. have taken part since the end of the 1960s. The problems of imbalance and inequality in the international system of information exchange and communications were reflected in many resolutions and decisions of UN sessions and UNESCO conferences. The non-aligned countries are playing an active role in posing the questions engendered by the inequalities in the realm of information media and communications.

The necessity of achieving independence for national information systems was pointed out for the first time at the 4th Conference of the Heads of State and Governments of the Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers in 1973. The action program for economic collaboration approved by this conference contained a provision that the developing countries must strive to restructure existing communications channels, which were the legacy of the colonial past.⁶

At conferences of heads of state and governments of non-aligned countries, symposia and conferences of ministers of information etc. and thanks to the active steps of Yugoslavia, Mexico, Algeria, Tunisia and later India, the demands for cardinal changes in the international system of information news exchange were formulated to the extent of their concretization and deepening in the concepts of the new international information order (NIIO). The 4th Conference of the Intergovernmental Coordinating Council of the Non-Aligned Countries on Information Issues (Baghdad, 7 Jun 80) adopted the corresponding resolution. This document formulated the legal foundation of the demand for a NIIO and projected

the principal aims that the non-aligned states were prosecuting in striving to restructure the prevailing system of international news exchange.⁷

This program can still only with difficulty be called an integral program of action generally accepted in the developing world. Considerable discrepancies in the non-aligned movement associated with the socio-economic differentiation of its makeup and positions of many of the leaders of developing countries that are not consistent to the last are creating serious impediments to this. Moreover, no international legal document that would officially formulate the principles of a NIIO has yet been adopted in the UN system.

Nonetheless, in analyzing the documents and materials of the non-aligned movement and studying the concrete actions that are being undertaken in the fight for a NIIO, the basic goals that the non-aligned states are prosecuting within the framework of this concept can already be delineated and possible ways of realizing it can be seen.

On the international level, the goals of the NIIO are:

- a) mobilizing public opinion for the solution of the global problems facing mankind: reinforcing peace and international security, furthering detente and disarmament and fighting hunger, disease, illiteracy and unemployment;
- b) opposing policies of colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, including Zionism, apartheid and any form of foreign intervention;
- c) conducting policies fostering a comprehensive restructuring of international relations on a democratic basis, and especially the achievement of the NIIO;
- d) disseminating worldwide information on the economic and cultural achievements of the developing countries and their points of view on topical problems of international policy, as well as reinforcing the international reputation of the non-aligned states and giving international rostrums to their leaders.

On a national level the goals are such:

- a) defending the rights of the peoples of the developing countries to obtain objective, precise and comprehensive information on actual reality;
- b) achieving self-determination and sovereignty in the realm of information and communications;
- c) incorporating efficient structures for mass communications that meet the goals of national development.

The goals and steps being undertaken by the developing countries at the international and national levels are naturally mutually connected and mutually conditional.

The non-aligned countries proceed from the fact that the new international information order should be based on such generally accepted norms of international law as respect for the sovereignty of states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, non-application of force or the threat of force and collaboration among states. In this connection they are actively defending a whole set of international measures that has been advanced by the socialist countries that would, in the event of their realization, serve as a material limitation on the uncontrolled activity of the multinational corporations in the sphere of information and would create impediments to the practice of "psychological warfare."

The issue of the content of international information flow is a most important one in the NIIO. The non-aligned countries proceed from the fact that the informational and cultural product disseminated across state borders should foster peace, detente and the development of mutual understanding and good-neighbor relations. Many non-aligned states are declaring the impermissibility of the use of mass media for instigations to war, as a tool of psychological sabotage or as a means of propagating racial supremacy. Their views coincide with the fundamental positions of the countries in the world socialist community in this.

A series of important documents has been adopted in the majority of cases on the initiative of the socialist countries, and in later decades with the active support of the non-aligned states of the UN and UNESCO. The adoption of a Declaration of Basic Principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to reinforcing peace and international mutual understanding along with the development of human rights and the fight against racism, apartheid and instigation to war, introduced by the USSR delegation, at the 20th Session of the UNESCO General Conference, was of great significance.

The leaders of the liberated states impart great significance to multilateral regional and international collaboration in resolving the tasks of the NIIO.

The Political Declaration of the 5th Conference of the Heads of State and Governments of the Non-Aligned States, as well as the resolutions of subsequent forums and conferences of the information ministers of the non-aligned countries, emphasized the vital necessity of establishing collaboration among the developing countries in the realm of information and the training of key personnel.

There have been definite achievements in this realm. A series of intergovernmental associations of the developing countries are currently operating to exchange and disseminate informational materials and cultural product. The Organization of Asian News Agencies (OANA) was created in 1961. A system of information exchange for the countries of Asia and the Pacific was formed within the framework of OANA in 1981 that included such agencies as TASS, VIA (Vietnam), CTAK (North

Korea) and Bakhtar (Afghanistan). A pool of information agencies of the non-aligned countries was officially established in Delhi in 1976 that currently unites about 90 participants.⁸ The Organization of Radio Broadcasting of the Non-Aligned Countries (ORDNA) was created somewhat later. A pool of radio and television organizations of the non-aligned countries was formed in 1977 (BONAC); it has a fund for the exchange of programs. The Caribbean Information Agency (CANA) functions in the Caribbean basin. The Pan-African Information Agency (PANA) arose in May of 1983 and today unites the national information agencies of over 20 countries on the continent and disseminates material (a total volume of up to 20,000 words a day) on the territory of over 30 African states. The annual budget of PANA does not exceed 3.5 million dollars.

The achievements noted, of course, still in no way permit the complete satisfaction of the needs of the non-aligned countries in the realm of information. The establishment of an International Program for the Development of Communications (IPDC), called in upon particular to seek out the essential economic and financial resources and assist in reinforcing the scientific and technical base of the mass media of the developing countries, at the 21st Session of the UNESCO General Conference was an important step toward resolving this task.

In denigrating the significance and prospects of the activity of the IPDC, the imperialist powers are striving to convince the developing countries that their needs can be satisfied only with the aid of private capital. At the same time delegations from Western countries, and first and foremost the United States, are making efforts to put the IPDC under their control and turn it from a tool of aid into a weapon for pressuring the developing countries. Despite its departure from UNESCO, the United States has declared that it will continue to collaborate with the IPDC. The United States, as opposed to the overwhelming majority of the IPDC participating countries that are allocating funds especially for the Program, is shifting money to "trust funds"—this allows it to send funds for implementing specific projects. The developing countries are thereby having aid conditions foisted upon them that would reinforce ideological and economic dependence on the West.

The USSR, as opposed to the imperialist powers, supports the goals and mission of the IPDC without reservation. Economic and technical assistance of the USSR to the developing countries is being accomplished in two main directions: material and technical assistance (participation in the construction of facilities, deliveries of equipment, plan development) and aid in the training of key personnel. In 1982 the Soviet Union announced its readiness to accept 50 students from the developing countries specializing in the realm of information, and in March of 1985, at the 6th IPDC Session, expressed the intention of granting an additional 30 stipends to interns with special education and desiring to improve themselves in the USSR.⁹

In studying the plans for the development of communications infrastructures and the materials of the international and regional conferences on mass communications,¹⁰ one can conclude that the struggle for self-determination and sovereignty in the realm of information and communications has become an independent direction of the realization of the goals of the IPDC for a significant group of developing countries.

Many non-aligned countries are planning a whole set of steps in this regard:

—ensuring state priority in issues of regulating and monitoring the content and volume of the information arriving from without;

—creating non-commercial mass-media systems that would ensure the interests of the state and defend national and cultural originality;

—developing on the basis of state planning and subsidies for the national mass media (training of key personnel, development of the industry to correspond to the needs and capabilities of the developing countries).

The greatest possible consolidation of national forces to resolve urgent tasks is required under conditions of extremely limited financial, technical and economic resources and the neocolonialist expansion of imperialism. Points of view regarding the necessity of rejecting Western models based on commercial principles of supply and demand and taking no account of the role of the state in the development of the mass media are becoming more and more widespread. The mass media are being recognized as a most important tool for forming public opinion, achieving national unity, elaborating the viewpoints of governments, assisting the development of education and eliminating illiteracy. The necessity of public opinion being formed by national media that should be oriented precisely toward the fulfillment of the tasks facing the young states was pointed out in particular at an international symposium on problems of mass information that was held in Tunis in March of 1976.¹¹

The leaders of the liberated states, even those that are developing along the capitalist path, recognize that the most acceptable model for the functioning of mass media in the societies of the developing world is the principle of social responsibility. The Malaysian prime minister, speaking at the International Forum of Journalists in Kuala Lumpur, thus said: "For a society balanced on the razor's edge (and I should acknowledge that Malaysia is in namely such a position), when one false word can lead to catastrophe, it is criminal irresponsibility to let that word achieve the status of publicity... The mass media should have freedom, but this freedom should be used with an awareness of responsibility for the consequences. In the same way that a government cannot operate outside the law, the mass media cannot stand above the law."¹² Mokhtar Lyubis, the chairman of the Asian Press Fund, adheres to a

similar point of view: "Such concepts as freedom and responsibility of the press (in the developing countries—P.M.) have cardinal distinctions from Western notions. Being free, the press at the same time should bear responsibility for reinforcing the stability and security of both the government and society."¹³

The fight for a new international information order is an important part of the overall process of decolonization and a strategic direction of the struggle for liberation from all forms of dependency for the developing countries. It is nonetheless difficult to expect cardinal positive changes in the international system of information exchange in the near future.

The anti-imperialist position of many developing states in the realm of mass communications is provoking powerful opposition from the Western powers, who are using ideological, political and financial means so as not to allow changes in the prevailing information order. The processes of concentration and monopolization in the sphere of mass communications has as a consequence the fact that international information channels are being controlled by an ever smaller number of corporations. Oligarchical tendencies are increasing in the international system of news exchange. Insofar as the potential of the production capacity and information-product dissemination in the leading capitalist powers in absolute terms is growing incomparably faster than in the developing countries, international exchanges of information are becoming more and more unequal.

The aid and support of the socialist countries, who do not look upon a single country in the world as the target of military, political, economic or cultural expansion and who have a vested interest in establishing justice and equality in all spheres of international relations, including in information, has great significance in the fight of the non-aligned states for the decolonization of information exchange.

Footnotes

1. New International Information and Communication Order. Prague, 1984, p 25.
2. "Teoriya i praktika sredstv massovoy informatsii i propagandy" [The Theory and Practice of Mass Information and Propaganda Media]. Moscow, 1985, p 117.
3. New International Information and Communication Order, p 27.
4. F. Williams. The Communication Revolution. N.Y., 1983, p 70.
5. Quoted from: R. Righter. Whose News, Politics, the Press and the Third World. N.Y., 1978, p 32.

6. Action Program for Economic Cooperation of the 4th Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned Countries. Algiers, 1973.

7. Resolution on the New International Information and Communication Order of the Fourth Meeting of the Inter-Governmental Coordination Council of Non-Aligned Countries for Information. Baghdad, 1980.

8. Patriot. 18 May 84.

9. International Council of the International Program of Communications Development. 2nd Session. Acapulco, 1982, 18-26 Jan. Concluding report. Paris, 1982; 6th Session. Paris, 4-11 Mar 85. Final Report. Paris, 1985.

10. UNESCO. Intergovernmental Conference on Policies of Communication in Latin America and Caribbean. Final Report. San Jose, Costa Rica, 1976; Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean. Bogota, 1978. Final Report: CC/MD/39. Paris, UNESCO, 1978; UNESCO. Meeting of the Experts on the Investigation in Latin America and the Caribbean: Provisional Report. Panama, 1978; Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Asia and Oceania. Kuala Lumpur, 1979. Final Report. Paris, UNESCO, 1979; Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Africa. Final Report 1980. Paris, UNESCO, 1980; Intergovernmental Conference for Cooperation on Activities, Needs and Programs for Communication Development. Final Report. Paris, UNESCO, 1980; Worldwide Conference on Policies in the Realm of Culture. Mexico, 1982. Concluding Report. UNESCO, 1982; Intergovernmental Council of the International Program for the Development of Communications. 5th Session. 1984. Concluding Report. Paris, 1984.

11. R. Richter. Op. cit., p 108.

12. Media Asia. Vol 12, 1985, No 4.

13. Media Asia. Vol 13, 1986, No 2.

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Education in African Socialist-Oriented States Described

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[Article by O.P. Pobokova: "The Educational System in the Socialist-Oriented African Countries"]

[Text] The revolutionary-democratic forces of the socialist-oriented countries have posed the task of achieving universal literacy and creating a system of mass free

polytechnical education as fast as possible. The principles at the foundation of educational development in these countries are associated with the best traditions of pre-colonial national education. In a collective work of African scholars titled "Education in Africa," the following important traits of traditional education are stressed: its public nature; an indissoluble link with local living conditions, including the sphere of material and spiritual production; the multipurpose nature of its content and means of teaching; the correspondence of education to the level of physical, emotional and intellectual development of each person.¹ Education in the socialist-oriented countries takes shape in close contact with the life of the country and its productive labor and is aimed at preparing socially responsible and mature members of society. The achievements of these countries in the realm of education have been noted repeatedly by special UNESCO awards for the best results in eliminating illiteracy (the People's Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Angola and Madagascar), as well as in the reports of that organization dedicated to analyzing the state of education in the developing countries.²

Education fulfills three main functions in society: professional-economic, social and colonial-humanistic. The social function has become the leading one in the young states that have chosen the path of socialist orientation. This is expressed first and foremost in the consistent subordination of education, both general and professional, to the interests of the fight to restructure society. At the same time, an important general feature of the development of education under the new conditions is the surmounting of the antagonism between its principal functions, ensuring their unity, interconnection and interaction. For the first time in the history of the liberated states, the economic and social functions of education are assisting the resolution of humanistic tasks. The foundation has thereby been laid for the formation of new value orientations among the youth that are free of nepotism.

The program documents of the revolutionary democrats and the legislative documents of the young states proceeding along the non-capitalist path devote much attention to the problem of forming a new man. The colonial revolution and its key link—a restructuring of the educational system—is being treated as a tool for the qualitative transformation of the nation, and not for the conventional quantitative growth in its spiritual and intellectual potential, by the leaders of Algeria, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and other socialist-oriented countries. The National Charter of Algeria thus emphasizes that "revolution can resolve only limited tasks if it is carried out by a people that is basically illiterate."³ In Benin the fundamental governmental stipulations for developing the educational system and the training of specialists that were formulated in the law of 1975 are based on the position of the schools as the chief means of forming a harmoniously developed personality. The new legislation of education that went into effect in Mozambique in 1983 defines the basic principles of schooling: a

link with social life and class struggle, a combination of teaching with physical labor and production and the development of a scientific materialistic and dialectical world view. The choice of the socialist development path has posed new tasks in the realm of education in Madagascar as well. They were formulated in 1978 in a decree on educational reform. The reform envisages a qualitatively new direction for the educational system: an early professional orientation in secondary school and the study of various levels of the foundations of Marxist-Leninist academics and the history of the struggle of the Malagasy people for liberation in educational institutions.

The process of creating a national educational system in the socialist-oriented countries is typified by the succession of all of its stages and forms. The possibility of transition from lower stages of education to higher ones is thereby assured. The programs of the MPLA-Labor Party (Angola), FRELIMO Party (Mozambique), the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and the National Revolutionary Party of Benin project concrete steps for the construction of a unified labor polytechnical school with native-language instruction. The programs envisage the development of education as a unified system of general, professional-technical and higher education. State leadership of educational development as a unified social institution and its material support have become the factual guarantee of the implementation of the right to education and obtaining a profession for all children regardless of their affiliation with this or that social or ethnic group. Education is free at all levels. In Mozambique, for example, a front-line state experiencing enormous internal difficulties associated with the necessity of being constantly ready to repulse an aggressor, up to 30 percent of the state budget is allocated to education.⁴ Since the reforms of 1983, a system is operating in the country that includes compulsory 7 years of elementary, 10 years of secondary, 2 years of pre-university and 4-6 years of higher education. The cost of educating a pupil in elementary school (grades 1-5—the first stage) totals 18,500 meticals for the state over the whole teaching period (42,411 meticals are 1 American dollar); the annual cost of teaching in grades 6 and 7 is 5,970 meticals. The parents are charged with monitoring the progress of the student. A student held back for a second year loses the right to free teaching, at the same time as he is required to complete seven grades, in that event at his own expense. In raising the responsibility of the pupil for the results of teaching, this system facilitates a considerable reduction in repeating years, which is a serious problem in the developing countries. The Council on National Educational Issues, created in 1984, is occupied with the problem of the scope of the teaching of children living in remote rural areas. Over 2 million Mozambican children (about 80 percent) will receive a compulsory 7-year education.⁵ A number of socialist-oriented countries (Algeria, Angola and Mozambique) are close to universal elementary education for children, which is an important indicator of social progress for these states.

The number of students has grown and their intake has expanded considerably in the secondary schools, the structure of secondary special education is taking shape and, for the first time in practice, a higher technical school is being created. Under the slogan "Learning is the revolutionary duty of the people," advanced by the MPLA-Labor Party, the government of Angola has since 1979 expanded a campaign to reconstruct the structure of the educational system. Some 90 percent of the population was illiterate by the time independence was achieved. All private teaching institutions are currently closed in accordance with the decree on free education, and a program for the rapid teaching of the population in schools and professional-technical centers, a broad network of which has been created in the towns, has been adopted and is in the process of being realized. The educational reforms were carried out with a regard for the experience accumulated by other liberated countries. A leading role in the process of its democratization belongs to the 8-year elementary school, in which about 2.5 million students were studying in 1985 (over 600,000 in 1976).⁶ A written language has been developed for the eight principal ethnic groups of the population. Education is combined with productive training right from the first grade. Complete secondary education is accomplished in 4-year teaching institutions specializing in technical or humanistic areas. In the upper levels of secondary school, the students are acquainted with the works of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism and the history of the struggle of the people of Angola for freedom and independence. Graduates of 8-year elementary school study the Charter of the People's Armed Liberation Forces (FAPLA) and learn to handle firearms. Some 11 technical educational institutions, 10 pedagogical institutes, 4 specialized industrial-pedagogical teaching centers and 15 professional-technical institutes have been created in the country.

The educational reforms have not only encompassed the structure of the educational system, but have touched on its content as well. The interaction of structure and content with the deciding role of the latter is one of the general laws of the development of the educational systems in the socialist-oriented countries. The content of teaching in Ethiopia is becoming qualitatively new. The Ministry of Education, in order to bring the curriculum closer to the needs of the country's development, is conducting an experiment in 70 schools. Subjects in polytechnical teaching have been introduced into the curriculum. A familiarization with trades and agriculture is occurring in the elementary schools; such subjects as production technology, the mechanization of labor, fundamentals of construction, commercial affairs and industrial production are being studied in secondary schools. Social disciplines are taught at all educational levels. Much work is underway to incorporate new content in the educational system in Mozambique. The legal department of the University *imeni* E. Mondlane has begun to function only after new teaching plans and curricula were approved and new textbooks were created

that made it possible to avoid copying bourgeois jurisprudence. The history department of the university prepared a two-volume edition of the history of Mozambique. The course content in the schools and higher educational institutions of Madagascar has also been qualitatively renewed. New textbooks on the social and hard sciences have been issued in the Malagasy language. Instruction using them is already underway in the secondary schools.

The problem of providing schools with new textbooks issued in the native languages occupies an important place in the practical activity of the revolutionary-democratic leadership of the liberated countries. In Mozambique, textbooks in all scholarly disciplines have been printed in Maputo since 1981. The Ministry of Education of Ethiopia has come out with history textbooks for the upper levels of secondary school. The textbooks for the 9th grade include sections on utopian socialism, German classical philosophy, the origins of scientific communism and information on the lives and activities of the founders of Marxism. In the 10th-12th-grade textbooks, the sections on recent and contemporary history are considered from class Marxist-Leninist positions. The foreword of the 10th-grade textbook notes in particular that "In preparing the textbook, the authors proceeded from the fact that students should obtain such knowledge that will allow them to become conscious advocates of the Ethiopian revolution, social progress and progressive forces and to put their whole lives at the service of revolution, peace, democracy and socialism."⁷

At all stages of education and in all forms of it, the children and the adult population are acquainted with contemporary concepts of the world and their country. That is how the foundation is laid for the formation of a scientific and materialistic world view that evolves in the direction of scientific socialism. The opportunities for disseminating Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of real socialism in the African countries are thereby expanded. A system of instruction in Marxist studies is gradually emerging in educational institutions, special schools for training propagandists in Marxism-Leninism are being created and elaborations of the principles of scientific communism are being conducted. The forms of extracurricular teaching that foster the resolution of this task are diverse. Seminars are organized in Benin with the goal of patriotic and ideological training of the revolutionary masses at which workers, peasants, professionals, instructors, students and the military study the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and become acquainted with the problems of national construction and the fight against imperialism. In Madagascar, ideological and professional-technical youth training centers have been created in 30 of the 110 regions of the country at which the adolescent generation is instilled with the foundations of the study of political science along with professional orientation.

The development of the educational system is a dialectical, and hence contradictory, process. One of the chief

contradictions is the contradiction between the cornerstone principles of the emergence of an educational system and the living conditions associated with the low level of socio-economic development of the country. The demand for teaching quality in the majority of the young states is in contradiction with the inadequate material and technical base of education. Some 50-60 persons are taught in classes as a consequence of the small number of schools and teachers, there are not enough textbooks and methodological elaborations and a shortage of educational literature is felt.

Contradictions in the social life of certain countries are reflected in the content of education. The curricula of the social-science disciplines in the secondary and higher schools of Algeria are affected by the contradiction of modern Algerian society as expressed in attempts to combine an objective striving to utilize the theory and practice of scientific socialism with nationalistic and religious ideologies. In the countries that have chosen an official ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the ideological postulates of revolutionary democracy implicit in the educational content against a background of an overall low colonial level and the poor dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge enter into contradiction with the considerable ideological diversity in the mass consciousness of the pupils and students. Religious, national and tribal prejudices and the constant ideological onslaught of imperialism and neocolonialism in the sphere of education are slowing the formation of a scientific world view among the youth. Much remains to be done so that revolutionary-democratic ideas in the educational content are affirmed in the mass consciousness of the younger generation.

Universal education has an important role on this path. The enormous attention being devoted to questions of eliminating illiteracy in the countries of non-capitalist development is having appreciable results. Every year some 40,000 adult Malagasy acquire the skills of reading and writing. Some 260,000 residents of the Congo, 960,000 Angolans, about 1 million Mozambicans and 1.15 million Afghans⁸ were introduced to literacy in the 1981-84 period. The highest rate of elimination of illiteracy is being noted in Ethiopia, which will in the near future become the first African country to achieve total literacy.⁹ Further teaching is being conducted among those who have recently learned to read and write. Over 1 million residents of Benin have been embraced by various forms of consolidation and application of the knowledge obtained in the courses to eliminate illiteracy. By resolution of the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin, hundreds of graduates of secondary schools are sent to work in remote regions of the country as instructors to eliminate illiteracy and as propagandists of the tasks of social development in the peasant environment. The intelligentsia and its emerging detachments—the students and scholars at the lycees—play a leading role in preparing the broad popular masses for active participation in social and political life and awakening the creative energies of the people. The activity of the intelligentsia is aimed at overcoming the racial, language and

ethnic barriers that divide the African peoples and at cultivating feelings of mutual understanding and mutual aid among them.

Comprehensive socio-economic problems tasks and problems of colonial construction also define the scale of preparation of the intelligentsia in the national institutions of higher learning. The student influx of the institutions of higher learning of Algeria is growing at a high rate. Whereas there were about 3,000 students in the institutions of higher learning of the country in 1963, there were about 210,000 in 1986,¹⁰ including 35 percent of the latter specializing in technical sciences. This corresponds to the resolution of the task posed by the leaders of the country to the Algerian nation: to overcome technical and economic backwardness in the next decade and reach the level of the developed countries for the principal indicators of production. The number of students at institutions of higher learning in Ethiopia, the Congo, Angola, Mozambique and Benin more than doubled over the 1979-84 period. Especial attention in these countries is being devoted to the training of specialists for the social infrastructure: the teachers, medical personnel and organizers of cooperatives that carry out the principal volume of educational and instructional work among the masses.

In Benin some 300 first-aid stations have been created whose personnel are trained by the medical department of the university (30 doctors are graduated each year) and by medical institutes (about 200 nurses, midwives and orderlies). The Regional Center for Medical Development trains organizers for the medical and hygienic services and specialists in general fields for other countries of Africa as well as Benin. An International Institute for Raising the Qualifications of Medical Personnel, in which physicians, pharmacists and veterinarians from many countries of Africa complete training, operates in the country with the participation of the World Health Organization. The practical activity of the institute, as well as the Regional Center, corresponds to the needs of the region. The National Pedagogical Institute (the city of Porto-Novo) and six provincial pedagogical institutes graduate about 500 secondary-school teachers each year. There are over 8,000 teachers working in the country overall. The resolutions of a teachers' conference (1981) that discussed the course of reform in the educational system noted that the revolution has created the essential conditions for the fruitful activity of pedagogues. Algeria devotes much attention to raising the prestige of teachers, and systematically increases their wages and displays concern for improving their living conditions and providing the schools in remote regions with the essential academic literature. A National Teachers' Day is marked each year in the Congo. Teachers receive supplemental payments for years of service and enjoy privileges in acquiring literature and textbooks.

The needs of society in the socialist-oriented countries for specialists in individual sectors is conditioning a rise in the efficiency of the activity of the educational institutions graduating specialists of various levels, which in

turn testifies to the development of the functions of the educational system. In Mozambique, for example, where there are few educated people, as noted by the British researcher B. M'Bow,¹¹ the revolutionary process is being slowed and a number of administrative posts are still in the hands of the petty bourgeoisie, while in recent years steps have been taken that have had definite results. Thus, whereas the overall output of specialists with higher education was about 100 people in 1980, it had grown to 470 in 1982.

The social function of the educational system in the liberated countries is not exhausted by its participation in solving the problems of enlightenment, health care and improving the living conditions of the workers. Its role is also important on the plane of democratizing social relations. In Ethiopia, as noted by the German researcher E. Dummer, an internal consolidation of specialists and their unification with the workers and the young working class is being observed.¹² In striving to come forward as a constituent element of the vanguard of the national-liberation movement and at the same time relying on the development experience of a number of socialist countries, emphasizes the monograph's author, the graduates of the national institutions of higher learning are moving away from the contemptuous attitude toward physical labor extant over the course of many centuries that made the convergence of the educated population and the popular masses more difficult. These trends are also being manifested in other socialist-oriented countries.

The graduates of higher schools in the young liberated states, along with other representatives of revolutionary democracy, take part in leading the country and actively oppose the neocolonialist policies of the capitalist powers. There is not enough homogeneity among the national specialists, however. The course of socialist orientation attracts first and foremost the sympathies of those specialists for whom it provides a stable material situation and for whom wages, and not private enterprise, is the chief source of income. It is namely this group of personnel that feels to the greatest extent that their intellectual potential, creative abilities and patriotic enthusiasm can be realized to the best under conditions of non-capitalist development. A growth in the role of national institutions of higher learning in forming the revolutionary-democratic intelligentsia can be discerned. The share of specialists with higher education in the makeup of the Congolese Labor Party grew from 21 to 25 percent of its overall membership in the 1979-84 period.¹³

The formation of the social composition of the student body and bringing its structure into accordance with the structure of the working population remains an acute problem. The share of the children of workers, including agricultural ones, comprised about 60 percent of the employed population in Algeria at the end of the 1970s but only 14.5 percent of the university student body,

while the share of children of the professions and officials (11 percent of the total number of employed) reached 29 percent at the university.¹⁴

A growth in the number of students coming from the working segments, for whom training departments and workers' departments have been opened at a number of institutions of higher learning, is being observed of late. The problem of forming the social composition of the university student body is being solved in Mozambique. Out of 2,500 students at the University imeni E. Mondlane, 600 (the least well provided for) receive stipends. Half of all places in educational institutions are designated for workers in the most important sectors of the national economy by government and party decision to attract the children of workers and peasants to schooling. The university is creating conditions for combining schooling with work. About 70 percent of the students are making use of this opportunity to obtain higher education. A system of evening and correspondence education has functioned since 1984 in Ethiopia. At the University of Luanda (Angola), people coming from among the workers, peasants and soldiers in the armed forces comprise 25 percent of the 9,000-strong student body.

An actively implemented democratization of higher education makes it possible for the socialist-oriented countries to make fuller use of the intellectual potential of the nation than is being done in the liberated countries taking the path of capitalist development, where a large portion of the proclaimed principles for the democratization of education are not being brought to life. Even in countries that have chosen a progressive development path, however, there are still remnants of the past as well as contemporary phenomena of a subjective and objective nature against which a difficult struggle is being waged to establish a genuinely national educational system.

The developing countries are experiencing many difficulties in the fight against outmoded traditions in the educational system. One of the barriers to achieving the full democratization of education that is most difficult to overcome is the tradition of female schooling. The core of the traditional approach to the formation of the spiritual world of young girls was their moral upbringing in the family and the commune. The education of girls was reduced mainly to inculcating in them skills for running a domestic household and teaching them the rudiments of literacy. The percentage of illiterate women has always been considerably higher than the percentage of illiterate men both in the colonial period and subsequently. In Ethiopia, for example, literacy among women did not exceed 5 percent before the 1974 revolution. During the 1975-85 period some 14 million adults learned to read and write in the country. Women were only 1/5 of them. Illiteracy among adult women is being overcome slowly in countries where the position of Islam is strong. According to data of the Conference of Ministers of Education of African Countries (Harare,

1982), the share of illiterate women surpassed 80 percent in Algeria and 70 percent in Libya at the end of the 1970s. Consolidating the skills of reading and writing acquired in courses to eliminate illiteracy poses considerable difficulty in a number of Muslim countries due to the limited participation of women in socially useful labor.

Good results have been achieved in the schooling of girls. In the 1970s the number of girls receiving elementary education tripled compared to the 1960s and the number receiving secondary education doubled over the same period. The growth rate in the number of girls encompassed by elementary education has remained quite high in the 1980s. Some 100 percent of the girls in the corresponding age groups are in school as a result in a number of countries—the Congo, Libya and Tanzania—while it is over 80 percent in Mozambique and over 70 percent in Zimbabwe.¹⁵

The church had a monopoly on the education of children before the winning of independence in the colonies. After the achievement of political freedom, the states that had selected the ideology of Marxism abolished sectarian schools and separated the schools from the church. The secularization of schooling was an important condition for the formation of a new social and individual awareness based on the ideas of scientific socialism. Special acts of legislation fixed the secular nature of all levels of education in the Congo, Angola, Zimbabwe and other socialist-oriented countries. These steps by the young states provoked resistance by the adherents of cults, especially where the Catholic church had the greatest influence over the population. Considering the schools to be the chief centers of ideological and colonial influence, the church is striving to maintain control over the education and upbringing of the younger generation and to preserve its traditional influence over the youth. New schools are periodically created illegally in the Congo under the Catholic churches. The state closed 30 such schools in 1985 alone.¹⁶ The Catholic church comes forward systematically in Angola, Zimbabwe and Madagascar with sharp criticism of secular education, emphasizing the decline in the quality of schooling and the loss of moral and ethical values among the youth. The quite strong influence of religion on the consciousness of the masses and poor anti-religious propaganda in these countries are allowing the churches to make use of the objective difficulties of developing state schools—shortages of qualified teaching personnel, methodological experience and materials—to wage an offensive on the ideological front.

The incarnation of plans for educational development is also being restrained by such subjective factors as a lack of experience among administrators of the educational system and inconsistencies and haste in executing measures to restructure it. The bureaucratization of the administrative apparatus of certain links in the system is also a brake on progress. In Algeria, for example, where the euphoria over quantitative success in educational

development has been left behind, manifestations of bureaucratism and red tape in the realization of the current stage of university reform are being noted. The administrative regulating mechanisms do not provide in particular for a real transition to the priority technological training of specialists. The formal reports on expanding and ensuring the essential level of training for technical specialists that are being sent out by the university administrations to the upper management echelons often have no real foundation.¹⁷ The plans for the construction of school buildings are also not being fulfilled systematically due to bureaucratic procrastinations. In the Algerian wilayaats, for example, a little over 400 classrooms and boarding schools were opened in the 1980-85 period instead of the planned two thousand.¹⁸

External factors in addition to the unfavorable internal factors are a serious obstacle on the path of educational progress in certain countries. The instability of the situation in southern Africa and the strengthening of the aggressive intrigues of South Africa since 1982 in particular are markedly hindering educational development in Angola and Mozambique. A shortage of funding, aggravated by the necessity of waging war, keeps the young states from fulfilling the projected plans and achieving the stipulated goals. A temporary decision was thus made in Angola in 1983 to reduce the compulsory educational period from eight to four years. The puppet formations of UNITA systematically destroy school buildings, built in the majority of cases using the funds of the Angolan population and with its active participation, in barbaric fashion. In Mozambique, despite considerable progress in democratizing education, not all of the 3.7 million school-age children were able to go to school in the 1985-86 school year.¹⁹

An analysis of the general features and contradictions of an educational system under the conditions of socialist orientation allows the delineation of two stages of it.

The first—the stage of decolonization—assumes solution of the problems of eliminating illiteracy, expanding schooling and creating the material and technical base for secondary special and higher education.

The second—the stage of democratization—envisages raising the level of education, forming a new man in the schooling process, a growth in the national intelligentsia and a fight against the penetration of bourgeois and imperialist influence in the sphere of education.

Insofar as this division is theoretical to a certain extent, phenomena are observed under actual circumstances that testify to a certain displacement of the stages in the emergence of individual links of education.

The educational systems of the young states are at differing stages of development by virtue of objective circumstances—differing durations of individual countries along the non-capitalist path, non-identical levels of socio-economic progress etc. Whereas the first stage has

practically been completed and the tasks of the second stage are being actively resolved in Algeria according to the majority of indicators, for example, a broad offensive has been launched within the framework of the first stage in Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia at the same time as the tasks of the second stage are being posed and are beginning to be resolved as program tasks.

The formation of an educational system of a new type is thus defined as a transitional social structure by the general features and requirements of the development of countries on the path of socialist orientation.

Footnotes

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8. Pravda. 17 Jun 85.
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12821

Main Editorial Board for Oriental Literature Marks 30 Years

18070047h Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 87 pp 144-147

[Article by O.K. Dreyer: "Thirty Years of the Main Editorial Board for Oriental Literature of Nauka Publishing House"]

[Text] The Oriental Literature Publishing House (OLPH) was created in 1957 at the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute for the purpose of increasing the output of the press products of the institute, as well as improving the publication of literary and historical texts of the peoples of the Orient.

The charter of the publishing house points out that its tasks include publishing periodical and non-periodical literature in Russian, Oriental and Western European languages. The publishing house quite soon went beyond the bounds of the tasks initially posed and began to publish a wider circle of literature—works on Oriental-studies topics of other institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, republic academies and universities. Over the first seven years of operation, the OLPH put out a considerable amount of literature on many problems in Oriental studies, increased the output of difficult-to-publish editions of historical and philosophical literature and brought to light many written manuscripts from the Orient. The book volume reached 2,000-2,500 author's sheets a year.

In 1963 the OLPH joined the Nauka Publishing house as the economically accountable Main Editorial Board for Oriental Literature (MEBOL). The yearly plans for the editorial preparation and output of MEBOL are approved by the Editorial and Publishing Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

MEBOL was charged with the task of publishing all the Oriental-studies academic output of the humanities institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and other academic institutions. MEBOL also publishes the most difficult works of the republic academies and branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Close collaboration with Moscow State University and Leningrad State University has made possible the publication of a series of textbooks and references and the interesting research being done by the university scholars.

In the initial period of operation of the Oriental Literature Publishing House, it included five editorial boards for books: three regional boards for historical and economic topics (Near and Middle East; India and Southeast Asia; and the Far East), a language and literature board and a manuscripts-publication board; a translation department published the works of Soviet Oriental-studies scholars in foreign languages. This structure was perfected over time for the purpose of greater specialization: a fourth regional editorial board was organized in connection with the creation of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and an increase in the number of works in African studies—the Africa editorial board (with the exception of the Arabic-speaking countries of North Africa); the language and literature board was divided into two separate boards—literary studies and language studies; the translation department was transformed into an editorial board for literature in translation, which publishes translation both from Russian into foreign languages and from foreign languages into Russian. A structure of eight editorial boards took shape as a result that is preserved to this day.

These editorial boards today have 52 staff editors. The majority of them are specialists with higher education in Oriental studies along with 6 candidates of sciences, and there are also historians, philologists and area-studies scholars.

The MEBOL today puts out 200-220 books a year with a total volume of 3,900-4,200 author's sheets. The MEBOL furthermore publishes 850-1,000 author's sheets of literature to order (papers, conference theses etc.) and three academic journals, two of which are in Oriental studies (*Narody Azii i Afriki* and *Aziya i Afrika segodnya*). The overall volume of press output by MEBOL totals some 4,900-5,000 author's sheets a year.

The topics of MEBOL publications are quite diverse. It is literature devoted to the contemporary situation, socio-economic problems and the domestic and foreign policy of the countries of the Orient.

The major portion of the published output of MEBOL is literature on the history of the Orient—ancient, medieval, recent and modern. Works are published that illuminate questions of the emergence, development and replacement of socio-economic formations in the Orient; the history of socio-political thought; the history of culture; the history of religion and atheism; and, ethnography and the archaeology of the Orient.

The series "Literary Texts of the Orient" publishes priceless facsimiles of manuscripts and texts, as well as translations of texts with commentary, research and indices; the leading works of the classic literatures of the Orient in Russian translation, the folklore of the peoples of the Orient, descriptions and catalogues of the most important collections of Oriental manuscripts in the

USSR, textbooks and reference literature on textology, paleography and on the principles of describing, preparing and publishing manuscripts and documents.

The philological literature is multivariied. It includes research on language studies and literature. Textbooks and references on Oriental languages, research on the folklore of the peoples of the Orient, mythology, works on aesthetics and aesthetical studies in the literature of the Orient and works on the art of the Oriental countries are published.

Literature on the history of Oriental studies, popular literature on the Orient and political and academic literature on Oriental studies in translation into foreign languages also occupy an important place in the plans of the publishing house.

Book series make up a considerable portion of the publications of the MEBOL. The series "Literary Manuscripts of the Peoples of the Orient" (afterward "Literary Texts of the Orient") and "Languages of the Foreign Orient and Africa" (later "The Languages of Asia and Africa") have been published since 1959. More than 150 books have been published in each of them. New series came to be published later, for example "The Culture of the Peoples of the Orient. Materials and Research"; "Research on the Folklore and Mythology of the Orient"; "Writers and Scientists of the Orient"; "Myths and Fables of the Peoples of the Orient"; and, the popular-science series "Tracing the Vanished Cultures of the Orient" and "Stories of the Countries of the Orient" (earlier title—"Travels in the Countries of the Orient"). New series are being created: "History of Oriental Literatures," "Ethnographic Library" and others. Over 20 series are published in all.

Some series have received widespread international recognition, for example "Literary Manuscripts of the Orient." Some 149 books have been published in this series.

The "Languages of Asia and Africa" series, founded by Professor G.P. Serdyuchenko, consists of brief sketches. Each sketch is devoted to a single language (living or dead) and contains a condensed description of its phonetics, grammar and lexicology. Some of the sketches are published in English translation as well.

The "Culture of the Peoples of the Orient" series (which has come out since 1969) includes both features on cultural materials unknown or little-known to science as well as research work devoted to cultural-studies problems; monographs and anthologies of articles on the history of culture and sketches on contemporary culture of the Orient; and, popular-science books—both original and in translation. Over 30 books have been published in this series.

More than 30 books have also come out in the series "Research on the Folklore and Mythology of the Orient," which publishes chiefly works of a theoretical and

comparative-typology nature, albeit based on concrete materials from the peoples of the Orient but bringing in works of the verbal art from other regions as well for comparative purposes. The academic artistic series "Fables and Myths of the Peoples of the Orient," which contains translations of the fables of this or that people or country or region accompanied by research articles and academic instruments (commentary, a registry of published texts and their narrators, typological indices of plots), is contiguous with the preceding series. More than 40 books have come out in this series.

The main editorial board also publishes yearbooks: "The People's Republic of China," "Japan," "India," "The Religions of the World. History and Commentary" and "Literary Texts of the Orient. Historical and Philological Research." The "Turkish Anthology" has been coming out for a long time as a yearbook; new is the yearbook "Iranian Language Studies."

Over the three decades of work, the publishing house has made a large contribution to domestic and foreign Oriental studies. The books of MEBOL are constantly being reviewed in the Soviet and foreign academic and political-sciences press, receiving positive evaluations as a rule. The publication of the academic legacy of N.A. Nevskiy—his opus "Tangut Philology" in two volumes—was awarded the Lenin Prize for 1962 (posthumously). The Great Chinese-Russian Dictionary (4 volumes) was awarded the USSR State Prize in 1986.

In 1987 the Main Editorial Board, for publishing works popularizing the idea of friendship and peace among the peoples of Asia and Africa and the Soviet Union and serving better mutual understanding among the scholars of the USSR and many developing countries, was awarded the International APN Prize imeni Avitsenna.

The work of the publishing house is connected with constant difficulties of a technical nature, however, caused by the disastrous state of the printing base of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Printshop No 3 of the Nauka Publishing House, serving the MEBOL, can only satisfy 60 percent of its requirements; the printers do not have the capability of doing many types of printing work therein; a sophisticated linguistic set of type, type for Oriental languages, a rotary press for books with large runs, mass offset presses and photo-typesetting are all lacking; and, the capabilities for printing and binding are limited. The quotas for MEBOL at the remaining print shops of Nauka are extremely low, unstable and constantly being reduced. About half of the manuscripts prepared for publication by MEBOL thus must be handled at the print shops of Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing], which does not have fixed or guaranteed annual quotas for printing work. Paper stocks for printing, including the high-grade papers essential for some types of academic publications (and the publication of manuscripts in particular), are chronically limited. The auxiliary funds that are called upon to compensate to a certain (albeit extremely poor) extent for the

printing base that has been taken out of circulation by MEBOL (the use of typesetting machines with variable scripts, transcribing Oriental texts using the manpower of calligraphers and the like) cannot solve the problem overall. One cannot expect any increase in the output of MEBOL publications and a rise in their printing quality without a radical reconstruction and fundamental renewal of academic printing.

The leadership of the Nauka Publishing House is taking decisive steps to reinforce the productive base of the publishing house, but this task cannot be resolved without the active assistance of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The future of the publishing house could prove to be threatened if the question of the printing base is not resolved over the course of the next three or four years.

New and important tasks are facing the MEBOL. The radical restructuring of the social sciences cannot help but affect Oriental-studies and African research today. The MEBOL is called upon to help bring most valuable research on the problems of the Pacific region, southern and Southeast Asia, the Near and Middle East and Africa to the reader. The publication of the references on the countries of Asia and Africa essential to practical workers must be increased.

The expansion of the study of Oriental philosophy requires the publication of serious basic works on this topic. Attention must also be paid to the shortage of works on problems in the recent history of Asia and Africa.

The popularization of knowledge on the Orient presupposes the necessity of creating new works that would be intended for the students of secondary schools as well. The task of creating special works intended for the foreign reader remains topical as before.

Improving the work of the editorial board is most closely associated with the need to restructure planning in the academic institutes. The established standards for targets in typewritten pages leads to unfounded increases in the volume of publications, as a rule to the detriment of the quality of work. Parallelism in the work of institutes and a lack of real coordination, even within the confines of a single division, continues to be a serious obstacle. It seems to me that the departments, sectors and directors of institutes, in approving a new topic, should become acquainted with the bibliography of works on that topic, both Soviet and foreign, over the last five years so as to eliminate instances of discovering Americas that have already been discovered.

The level of reviewing and discussion of works is too low as before. We must be more boldly rid of the excessive complimenting that is widespread in academic practice.

I am sure that the difficulties hindering the further successful development of Oriental and African studies will be surmounted in close contact with the institutional clients, and we will continue to delight the reader with new and interesting books.

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12821

Scholarly Work, Discussion on Reform in Chinese Village Life

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[Article by E.S. Kulpin: "The Contemporary Chinese Village: Problems and Opinions"]

[Text] Since the end of the 1970s, processes have been transpiring in the Chinese village that are attracting the steadfast attention of public figures and scholars of many countries and academic centers of the world. In 1984 the Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences held the first "The Agrarian Peasant Question in the PRC at the Contemporary Stage of Development" working conference, at which the results of an analysis of the processes and phenomena of 1980-84 done by a collective of scholars at the institute were presented for discussion.¹ A second working conference with the same title was held at the institute in January of this year. Two works prepared by V.G. Gelbras and containing an analysis of the processes of the two years that have transpired since the first conference and the overall results of development in the Chinese village in the 6th Five-Year Plan (1981-85) were presented as preliminary material for the discussion.²

The author notes that two approaches to considering agrarian problems in China have currently taken shape. The first is defined by an exclusively practical interest, a search for original ideas and solutions and a study of the experience of a single country for the subsequent use of another. The second is typified by an academic interest in the processes, problems and development prospects of the Chinese village and the country overall. The second approach dominates in the materials presented, although a circle of problems associated with the first was also taken into consideration in writing them.

The chief object of discussion in these works are the shifts in the business-economic and socio-political life of the Chinese village in 1980-86. They give an overall evaluation of the situation in the rural regions of China and consider the basic problems and contradictions of development as well as the organization and financing of the village economy, the sources for financing the agricultural industry—"volost and settlement enterprises"

(as they are called in China)—and a differentiation of the incomes of peasants and problems of social justice and the socio-economic forces of restructuring in the Chinese village.

The development of the Chinese village in 1980-86 is sharply distinguished from preceding periods. The amount and efficiency of production grew sharply compared to any period from the end of the 1950s to the middle of the 1970s. The average annual rate of increase in the physical volume of national income created in agriculture totaled 11.1 percent in 1981-84, whereas it was 3.4 percent in 1977-80, and 8.5 and 2.4 percent of national income respectively. The actual average annual rate of increase in gross agricultural product (without village industry) was 8.1 percent in 1981-85.

The PRC, after two decades of almost uninterrupted decline in the standard of living of the population, has obtained the opportunity of stopping and then, without permitting a break in the motion, setting about increasing the welfare of the people: markedly narrow the sphere of the standards supply of foodstuffs to the urban population, halt the import of large lots of grain and cotton, create a free market for agricultural output and supply industry with agricultural raw materials.³ These successes were achieved as a result of economic reforms, the chief element of which was the transition of the village to the household-contract system.

The limits of growth were revealed in the last five-year plan, however, and the problems of development worsened. The CCP Central Committee and the PRC State Council noted that "the agricultural growth rate in the last several years has been unprecedented and it was chiefly a result of the fact that all existing reserves for production growth were brought into action simultaneously thanks to reform."⁴

The household contract at once revealed the surplus workforce of the village, the dimensions of which will grow rather than diminish. According to the forecasts of the competent PRC organs, by the end of the 20th century the village workforce will comprise 450 million people, while the maximum needs of agriculture will not exceed 220 million workers. Alarming trends of a decline in arable land and the breaking up of land allotments have appeared. It has become clear that the average allotment cannot serve as the basis for creating a commodity economy and for a steady increase in the welfare of the peasantry. The latter are reducing sowing of unprofitable and poorly profitable crops essential to the country and are increasing the harvests of income-producing ones. It has been detected that a considerable portion of the rural population can only feed themselves. There is almost no free capital in the villages. All of this will sooner or later pose the question of cooperation. It has also become clear that the sector structure of production cannot be changed rapidly and that the formation of a multi-sector economy depends on the mechanism of economic operation in the city as well as the

village and that the growing role of the market as a barometer of social requirements requires more attention to macroeconomic processes and active influence on them on the part of the state, that the state cannot always have such influence, and in particular cannot carry out a further rise in procurement prices and cannot stop the process of growth in the property differentiation of the peasantry with economic means. Only a small portion of the peasantry have gone beyond subsistence and semi-subsistence farming, while a considerable portion cannot support expanded reproduction.

The principal critical observations on the materials presented to the conference can be reduced to two questions: the social interests of individual segments and evaluating the nature of the process of the flow of capital from agriculture into industry in the *volosts* and settlements.

A.V. Meliksetov (MGIMO [Moscow State Institute of International Relations] of the USSR MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]) spoke on the first question. He addressed the loss of one of the most important objects of research—the social interests of individual segments and groups in the villages and the cities, and first and foremost the key worker personnel—the *ganbu*. In the materials from the first conference, the dynamics of economic reform were tied more distinctly with transforming the social structure. The interconnection of involving the *ganbu* in the enrichment process and accelerating the course of reform was revealed in particular. This theme is not developed in the new materials. Moreover, the possibility of understanding the success rate of forecasting socio-economic processes depends on uncovering the social interests of the rural and urban *ganbu*.

Doubts in the effectiveness of economic development in the village at the expense of the flow of funds from rural industry into agriculture were expressed in the materials presented for discussion. I.N. Korkunov (IDV [Far East Institute] of the USSR Academy of Sciences) did not agree with this. In his opinion, such a flow is correct, since significant income from industrial activity is not the result of the greater efforts of the workers, but rather the difference between prices for industrial and agricultural products. The prospects for the development of the village, favorable overall, depend on the scale of this flow. B.Ya. Portyakov (IEMSS [Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System] of the USSR Academy of Sciences) considers this problem from another angle. He feels that the flow of funds from rural industry into cultivation leads to a violation of the principle of commodity farming with all of the negative consequences for reform arising therefrom, one of the chief goals of which is to transform peasant farms from subsistence into commodity ones.

Further discussion developed on problems that were presented to the conference, albeit not touched on in the materials, but indissolubly linked with the whole aggregate of life of the contemporary Chinese village, to wit:

problems of development, their specific nature, the specific features of the current moment and the prospects for the future. Questions of money-exchange relations, cooperation and resolving contradictions between the requirements of economic development and social justice were the principal objects of discussion.

At the center of discussion was the main contradiction of contemporary Chinese society, engendering a sharp ideological struggle and difficult clashes. This contradiction was clearly expressed by A.V. Meliksetov in the phrase "equality or development." The discussion concerns the alternatives facing society and the state in the basic priorities of value system engendered by life itself. As the first stage of economic reform has shown, rapid economic growth under the conditions of the PRC has as a consequence a strengthening of social differentiation and an increase in social inequality. V.Ya. Portyakov feels that this contradiction is central to contemporary Chinese society. In any case, that is how Chinese scholars themselves regard it—a conclusion reached by V.Ya. Portyakov on the basis of numerous personal discussions with Chinese colleagues, who do not yet see a practical way out of this problem. In contemporary Chinese society, as assumed by I.N. Korkunov, social differentiation as the price of development is an inevitable phenomenon, but it does not follow from this that the PRC leadership is ready to pay this price. In the opinion of the scholar, as long as the state keeps the principal levers for the management of society in its own hands, social differentiation will not necessarily turn into social polarization. He reminded us of the statement of Deng Xiaoping: "If we have polarization, we will perish!"

It is an unrealistic task to ensure both development and equality in the PRC—such is the viewpoint of L.D. Bon (IDV). Economic inequality and other social problems, she feels, are moving to the fore in the PRC today and preference will be given in solving development problems to those that facilitate an easing of social inequality.

V.Ye. Zotiye (VNIIPK of the USSR GKNT [State Committee for Science and Technology]) informed those assembled of the results of research he has conducted on the dynamics of the process of income differentiation in the PRC. It declined somewhat in the first stage of reform, and then began to grow, today having reached the level of the 1950s. Although the level of income differentiation is not high, it is fraught with social shifts. It is today spreading not only to income, but also to the organization of labor and the means of production. In the researcher's opinion, a fundamentally new social group is forming. It is the vanguard in the transformation of the village from subsistence to commodity production, and at the same time its distinguishing traits are characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie. Some of the vanguard farms are not just developing but being ruined as well. In the Shanghai region, 17 percent of individual farms, including peasant ones, have gone bankrupt. The usury typical of traditional China is being resurrected anew.

The conference also devoted much attention to the problem of money-exchange relations. The further development of the Chinese village in the second stage of economic reform depends first and foremost on expanding the scope of money-exchange relations—all of the meeting's participants arrived at this conclusion. In the opinion of V.Ya. Portyakov, the difficulties of the second stage of reform have been caused by a number of objective and subjective reasons: errors and miscalculations in policies, the reluctance of the peasantry to conclude contracts for the delivery of products to the state, the development of usury, trends toward the monopolization of procurement in the hands of certain individuals etc. The Chinese village must resolve difficult problems: hired labor and the allowable scope of exploitation and the management of the processes on the part of the state. Chinese export patterns predetermine the directiveness in grain production. The needs of the peasantry remain undeveloped: "I earned a thousand yuan, built a new house, bought a TV—and that's enough." The intermediate requirements of the village have already been met. The village is basically saturated with primary-need goods. The chief cause of drag, however, is associated with the fact that the source of impetus for reform has changed. In the first stage it came from the village, and in the second from the city and the whole system of circulation. The principal limiters today are also outside the bounds of the village: declining rates of saturation of the village with technology, shortages of fuel, the impossibility of the city giving the villages goods equivalent to what are offered the city. In V.Ya. Portyakov's opinion, these difficulties are of a long-term nature, and the dynamic development of the village can thus scarcely be expected.

The first stage of reform in the village went easily because, asserts I.N. Korkunov, the peasantry has always wanted to get land, to say nothing of commodity production. The difficulties of the second stage are in the development of money-exchange relations, rural industry and in changing the structure of production. The latter is changing quite rapidly in a direction away from cultivation toward industry. The village produced 15 percent of all the coal in the country in 1985.

A new concept of the Chinese village, a concept of the utmost development of commodity production, in the opinion of L.D. Bon, runs into two problems: excess workforce and a shortage of resources, as well as cooperation as the way of developing productive forces. Cooperation should be developed to the extent that the potential of the contract is exhausted. The scale of business in the family contract is quite small. They feel in China, however, that it is supported by the majority of the peasantry and that it must be used until the end of the 20th century. The excess workforce in the village will gradually be displaced from agriculture, leaving room for specialization.

L.A. Volkova also spoke on the problem of cooperation, proposing that total cooperation is a matter for the distant future. In recent years the collective sphere in

agriculture itself has declined and has been developed only by industrial enterprises and sales-and-supply cooperatives. V.Ya. Portyakov, on the contrary, feels that the processes of competition and monopolization of procurements by certain individuals underway in the village should stimulate cooperation. The market mechanism could also facilitate this. Committees of rural residents should once again become the foundation of the cooperatives that arise.

V.S. Milonov (INION [Scientific Information on the Social Sciences Institute] of the USSR Academy of Sciences) reported on prevailing opinion in China on all three problems. These opinions coincide overall with those expressed at the conference. V.S. Milonov proposed that the state intervene actively in the organization and functioning of the market and encourage the leading enterprises. The process of development of commodity farming cannot be halted. Undesirable directions can of course be averted by granting more rights to local governments.

In conclusion V.G. Gelbras gave an overall evaluation of the processes from the point of view of managing them. The reform was at first not the product of implementing a well-defined plan of action. Far from all that we see today was the course of the CCP. The party, for example, did not have as its aim resurrecting private trade and a multi-institutional economy. Although the party immediately tried to direct the trend into acceptable channels, it was nonetheless impossible to stop the development of many processes.

Footnotes

1. The Agrarian-Peasant Question in the PRC at the Contemporary Stage of Development (Materials from the Working Conference). Moscow, 1984, 55 pp.

2. "Ekonomicheskiye aspekty novykh yavleniy v agrarnoy politike Kommunisticheskoy partii Kitaya" [Economic Aspects of New Phenomena in the Agrarian Policies of the Communist Party of China]. Moscow, 1986, 60 pp; "Sotsialnyye aspekty novykh yavleniy v agrarnoy politike Kommunisticheskoy partii Kitaya" [Social Aspects of New Phenomena in the Agrarian Policies of the Communist Party of China]. Moscow, 1986, 52 pp.

3. "Economic Aspects....," p 5.

4. Quoted from: Ibid., p 9.

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12821

Collection of Articles by the Late N.M. Gurevich Published

18070047j Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 87 pp 185-188

[Review by Yu.G. Aleksandrov of book "Zarubezhnyy Vostok: voprosy ekonomicheskoy istorii. Sbornik statey" [The Foreign Orient: Questions of Economic History. Anthology of Articles]. Editor-in-chief A.M. Petrov. Moscow, Main Editorial Board for Oriental Literature of Nauka Publishing House, 1986, 128 pp]

[Text] This anthology, comparatively small in volume, is noteworthy in at least two regards. First, it is devoted to the memory of Naum Manuilovich Gurevich (1922-83), well known for his labors in the realm of the economic history of the Orient and known to and valued by many Oriental-studies scholars as an enthusiast of academics and a good and responsive person. Second, the compiler and editor-in-chief of the anthology, A.M. Petrov, has posed the task of not only honoring the memory of the teacher, but also fostering a resurrection of interest in the history of economics in the Orient as an area of research that has inconspicuously receded into the background in recent decades.

The turn to the works of Gurevich is instructive in this light. His academic activity is a visible example of how those dedicated to scholarship, through dogged work, are devising a correct understanding of the urgent tasks facing this realm of knowledge. Apropos of Oriental studies the discussion concerns the topical problem of linking the present with the past and the role and place of the whole complex of the traditional legacy in the social process in the contemporary Orient.

The significance of research in the realm of the economic history of the Orient for the development of these problems should especially be mentioned. But first a few words on the memorial genre of historiography that we encounter in this book, where along with two earlier unpublished articles of the late scholar and other materials is contained an article by Petrov "The Economics of Past Centuries in the Works of N.M. Gurevich." This genre of academic work is not very popular among us. It seems that one reason for this is extant notions of the role of the individual and collectives in the academic process. It has become accepted to think that, with the exception of acknowledged leading lights, contemporary scholarship is advanced by the common efforts of large collectives in which the achievements of individual scholars are seemingly ultimately dissolved. The sole researcher and sole inventor have thus become somewhat offensive and even undesirable figures.

Such a mindset, to a considerable extent reflecting a tendency toward formalization in the management of academic activity, is profoundly erroneous for all levels of academic, as well as any other creative, activity without exception. Contemporary science really is done most often in large collectives, but it receives the real

impetus for advancement from specific people: from all those who are able to do something out of the ordinary in the process of resolving academic tasks and find a new approach or solution, or advance a new idea. Such a contribution must unfailingly be academically recorded.

If this is so, then how should the especial contribution of Gurevich to Oriental studies be noted? Those who regard at least this anthology as a mark of his creative legacy would agree, I am sure, that the scholar was proven to be right where and when many were wrong. He continued to remain an enthusiast of Oriental-studies historical and economic research in a time when the main body of specialists in the field of contemporary and historical socio-economic problems of the Orient had lost active interest in it, feeling it not to be topical. That is, the issue here is not a love of economic history in general, but the conviction that such research retains great significance at a time when the Orient has been drawn into an era of rapid and sweeping changes as well. This evaluation is convincingly substantiated in the introductory article in the anthology, in which Gurevich's legacy is analyzed: the scholar's ideas are considered here in the context of topical methodological and theoretical problems of the socio-economic area of Oriental studies.

The weakening of interest of many Oriental-studies scholars in the economic history of this region was not accidental. It seems that this transpired under the influence of impressions engendered by the growing dynamism of social, and especially economic, processes in post-colonial Oriental societies. And even such sweeping phenomena as, for example, the explosion of traditionalism in Iran at the end of the 1970s did not incite the majority of researchers in the contemporary economics of the Orient to address the problem of the "past in the present" more actively: this explosion was evaluated primarily as a social result of the destructive work of capitalism in the indigenous social organism, and not as a manifestation of the ability of the traditional to be resurrected in the contemporary through different mechanisms for the synthesis of the one and the other.¹

Why does it seem as if the "link of the times has disintegrated" in the consciousness of many researchers of the Orient (especially those studying contemporary problems)? It could be asserted that at the foundation of this lies the notion of the productive forces of the pre-colonial societies of the Orient as exclusively backward, routine and immobile. This especially relates to evaluating the labor resources of the Orient, which evaluation was established under the influence of the imperatives of a capital-intensive and labor-conserving technology of a major machinery industry, on the one hand, and the realities of the "population explosion," on the other. The successive link that must exist between the productive forces of traditional Oriental societies of the past and the productive forces of the "contemporary" sector of their economies today ceased to be noticeable from this angle. On the contrary, the notion was actually asserted (true, not always clearly) of the

complete rejection of the pre-industrial productive forces as industrial in the process of modernization of the economy of the developing countries. Interest weakened as a result in seeking endogenous, i.e. contained in the productive forces of the traditional Orient themselves, preconditions and mechanisms of economic development. Ultimately all of the factors pushing the socio-economic process forward in the Orient came to be associated exclusively with elements of the productive forces borrowed from without.

Today it can only be assumed what helped Gurevich and other enthusiasts of studying the economic history of the Orient to realize the great independent significance of research in that realm for the study of socio-economic processes in the contemporary developing countries. It cannot be ruled out that Gurevich's many years of specialization on Afghanistan and the contiguous countries of the Middle East, i.e. on a region in which the advance of the socio-economic process was more obviously tied to changes in the indigenous productive forces, while foreign influence was not so active over a long period of time as, say, in southern and Southeast Asia or a number of countries in the Near East, played a role in his case.

In countries that did not experience colonial conquest, in which no intensive export of capital in the form of production from the imperialist powers was observed and thus the integration of the economy into the system of the world capitalist economy transpired more slowly, economic statistics, as a rule, are very poorly developed. In such countries, the appearance of trends and parameters of the socio-economic process become an especially fine and painstaking matter. The significance of economic history or, as Gurevich preferred to call it, "the science of the economics of past centuries," in this is especially great in all regards here.

The circle of specific interests of the scholar, as can be seen from the materials of the anthology, was exceedingly broad: from individual countries to various general questions of the economic history of the Orient. A number of subtle methodological ideas on ways of restoring various key economic indicators were advanced in his works on Afghanistan. Petrov writes that "Reading the works of N.M. Gurevich on Afghanistan, you somehow forget that the discussion concerns a country whose statistical base came to be created only recently. It would seem that the impossible has been reconstructed, while in point of fact that was done, albeit originally, without employing any supercomplicated models whatsoever" (p. 8). Cited as an example is the technique for evaluating the gross national product of Afghanistan before the beginning of the 20th century (recall that the first official information on this indicator relates just to the middle of the 1950s).

Along with a description of Gurevich's contribution to developing the problems of the economic history of the Orient, the anthology publishes two of his articles for the

first time: "Notes on the Export Specialization of the Agriculture of Colonial and Dependent Countries of Asia in the 19th and First Half of the 20th Centuries" (pp 32-71) and "Some Questions in the Demographic and Economic History of Southwestern Asia in the Middle Ages" (pp 72-91). These materials testify to the scholar's orientation toward researching the historical process of the development of productive forces of the Orient as a precondition for changes in the nature of the formation. The topicality of this approach under conditions where the view of productive forces first for the traditional Orient overall and then for the traditional sector of its contemporary economics as routine was widespread is completely apparent.

The results of research in the realm of demography serve as serious arguments against the widely disseminated viewpoint of the "population explosion" in the Oriental countries as a phenomenon with no direct link with the specific historical nature of the development of their productive forces and the socio-economic process transpiring them. This research, in other words, counters the point of view from which actually stems the view of resettlement in pre-capitalist societies and in pre-capitalist institutions of the multi-institutional economy of the contemporary Orient as intrinsically having just a demographic bottom line, i.e. as an absolute resettlement. No less significant are Gurevich's efforts to study the development mechanisms of commodity relations, the social division of labor and the distribution and redistribution of social product in the traditional and contemporary Orient. They are important, aside from all else, for going beyond the bounds of narrow representations of the exclusively unilateral nature of the involvement of the economies in the region in the world economy and for a more profound understanding of the prospects for surmounting economic backwardness in the developing countries.

The importance of namely historical-economic approaches to these problems is determined, in my opinion, by the fact that there still exists a considerable lack of clarity on the issue of the specific nature of the formation of money-exchange economic mechanisms at the early stages of pre-imperialist and imperialist exploitation of the Oriental countries. Representations of the economic mechanism for the interaction of the centers and the periphery of the world capitalist economy are still formed based on an idea asserted apriori on the "distortion of value proportions" in favor of the colonial mother countries beginning at the earliest stages of the exploitation of the countries of the Orient. A conclusion of the inevitability of the plundering of a less productive economy by any more highly developed one through the mechanism of commodity exchange (the idea of "non-equivalent exchange") follows automatically from this in particular. It seems that a simplified view of the objective position of the developing countries in the world capitalist economy is thereby established, and this means that an evaluation of their prospects and ways of overcoming poor economic development and dependence is made more difficult.

This anthology also includes articles by M.S. Meyyer "The Effect of Democratic Processes on the Socio-Economic Life of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th Century" (pp 92-109) and L.I. Reysner "The Division of Labor and Modes of Intercourse in the System of Pre-Capitalist Civilizations" (pp 110-127).

Meyyer's article is an example of concrete historical-economic analysis. The author puts into academic circulation important factual information on the period being researched. Based on that he was able to uncover material specific historical features of the demographic process in the Near East and show more fully and deeply the nature of the link between population dynamics and the development of productive forces under the differing socio-economic conditions of the Mediterranean regions of Europe and Asia.

Reysner's article occupies a somewhat special place in the anthology, it would seem. In actuality, however, all of the problems of economic history must lead to the problems considered in the article of the correlation of external and internal and historical and contemporary preconditions of formational and civilizational development. The little-studied question of the mode of intercourse as an element of the mechanism of social development and support for the integrity of social organisms is important on this plane, allowing an understanding of the form of interaction of factors in the movement and stabilization of society, its differentiation and integration, the spasmodic or uninterrupted nature of its development, in the course of a dialectically contradictory historical process.

The author, in order to resolve this question, confirms the view of society as a "system-supporting and self-reproducing organization"—a specific macrostructure with functional, institutional and reproductive articulations (p 111). The discussion consequently concerns researching the methods of an interdisciplinary approach to social organisms, the inwardly contradictory integrity of which is supported by a definite objective mechanism. Such a unity of the differentiating and integrating elements is embodied in the mutual nature of the link within the complex of "the division of labor—mode of intercourse." And whereas the former, relating to base categories, differentiates society to the extent of the development of productive forces, the latter, in the author's opinion, gravitates toward the superstructure complex of the social structure and ensures its integrity (pp 111, 116).

It seems that the ideas expressed by Reysner are deserving of special discussion in the aggregate with other approaches to the problem of the motive forces and mechanisms of social development formulated in recent years. All of them are oriented toward solving the basic problem of the correlation of formational and civilizational elements in the consistent advance of the social process. This problem is moving more and more apparently to the forefront of Oriental studies, insofar as it

especially closely intertwines questions of the comparative role of various factors—internal and external, historical and exclusively contemporary—in the social development of the Orient.

Many questions and vague items arise herein. What, for example, is this civilizational factor: can it be reduced just to a definite aggregate of socio-cultural phenomena (a kind of "socio-genetic code") or does it have a base-superstructure structure of its own? After all, say that the division of labor itself as a base phenomenon is already not only an expression of the differentiation of society, but also an immediate form of contact among its members. The productive forces themselves have elements that are more superficial and more basic, more mobile and more inert. How do the forces moving the social process and determining the nature of this movement and its results ultimately interact?

As for economic history, being an academic discipline that facilitates research on the link of the present (and the future) and the past, it has a most immediate relation to the indicated problems. Therefore, in welcoming the publication of this anthology, I would like in conclusion to point out once again—as a positive phenomenon—the growing interest of our academic community in the problems of economic history.²

Footnotes

1. On this see: "Evolutsiya vostochnykh obshchestv: sintez traditsionnogo i sovremennogo" [The Evolution of Oriental Societies: A Synthesis of the Traditional and the Contemporary]. Moscow, 1984.

2. The recently published anthology "Historical Factors of Social Reproduction in the Countries of the Orient," by the way, testifies to this as well.

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12821

Czech Book on Relationship of Islam, Modern World Reviewed

18070047k Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 87 pp 189-193

[Review by A.V. Malashenko of book "Islam a soucasnost" [Islam and Modern Times]. Prague, Academia Publishing House, 1985, 107 pp]

[Excerpts] This anthology includes four major articles prepared by scholars of the Oriental Studies Institute of the CSSR Academy of Sciences. The work of our Prague colleagues was not limited by a strict problematical framework and is arranged in quite broadly formulated fashion.

The first article—"The Islamic Concept of History"—comes from a pen well known to Soviet researchers, I. Hrbek, and is doubtless of interest to the reader at least for the reason that the problems touched on in it are on the periphery of our own domestic Islamic studies. Hrbek considers the Islamic concept of history a "part of the Islamic religious world view," proposing that "there are few religious concepts with as many appeals to history as Islam" (p 8). The foundations of the Muslim concept of history are laid down in the Koran. The author briefly sets forth the notions of the history of mankind that were adhered to by the prophet Muhammed and were later developed by Muslim theologians: history develops in linear fashion (i.e. not cyclically); it begins with the creation of the world and concludes with its end; animate and inanimate nature are called upon to serve man, who is the sole actively operating individual of history (if one does not consider supernatural beings—genies, devils et al); fate and the freedom of man are completely predetermined by the creator, who periodically sends prophets bearing the word of God to the people. One of these was Muhammed. The failure of all previous prophecies was able to engender a "historical pessimism" in Muhammed. But since he was given to know from Allah himself that he was the last of the series of prophets (the dogma of the finiteness of prophecy), a "historical optimism" was typical of Muhammed, confidence in the fact that it was namely he that had been charged with the mission of "implementing God's plan for saving mankind" (p 9).

Thus, following Hrbek's logic, the "historical optimism" of Muhammed was defined by faith in the ultimate triumph of Islam. This faith was transferred to the Muslim community, took hold and received undisputed confirmation in the first century of the hijrah, when "the historical optimism was based on Muslim successes quickly achieved" (having in mind the victorious conquering marches) (p 19).

Beginning in the 10th century, however, pessimistic tendencies began to be manifested in Muslim society which Hrbek explains with the "political failures of the Muslim umma." He includes among them "the shift of political power into the hands of the Turkish Pretorians, the schism between the Sunnis and the Shites, and the later crusades and the loss of the Pyrenees peninsula" (ibid.). I would like to note in this regard that the author's reasoning on historical optimism and pessimism can really be related just to the Arab world. The historical traditions of Muslim India, Persia, Turkey etc. remain "outside the frame" of the article. Whence a certain stress in favor of the Western part of the Muslim region. Speaking, for example, of the historical pessimism of the Muslims, the author cites among his causes events and factors that in no way could have had a material influence on the enormous eastern occurence of Islam.

The disillusionment and dissatisfaction of the Muslims in their future as evoked by constant political failures

both within the umma and in clashes with the non-Muslim world, entailed a weakening of the spirit of optimism and a "nostalgic turn to the glorious past," which is defined by the author as "historical pessimism." And this is fully understandable, since historical pessimism is, in essence, nothing more than optimism turned backwards—for a golden era when the pinnacle is already behind. In a later period—beginning in the 19th century—the historical pessimism of Muslim society was engendered by European colonial rule.

Muslim theologians nonetheless "never rejected the assertion that Islam was the religion of the last prophet and as such could not fail to succeed in the future." Crises in the umma were explained by the ulama as the departure of Muslims from the principles of the true faith and the failure to observe the precepts of the prophet (p 19). Muslim ideologists are even today calling for a return to these principles and the restoration of the true spirit of Islam. This is moreover characteristic of the reformists, the fundamentalists, the advocates of puritanical Islam and its modernizers, but each of them imports his own meaning to the concept of true Islam.

While Hirbek's work takes us back to the depths of time, the material presented by another Oriental-studies scholar well known to Soviet researchers, J. Muzikarzh, is devoted to contemporary topics. In the article "Islam and Ideology. The Green Book of Qaddafi," the Czechoslovak Arabist considers not only the chief aspects of the world views of M. Qaddafi—his views on the idea of Arab unity, attitude toward Arab nationalism, problems of democracy, the political structure of society etc.—but also devotes much attention to the genesis of Qaddafi's ideas, comparing them with the ideas of ideologists that had, in the opinion of Muzikarzh, a direct or indirect influence on him.

The effect of the personality and views of G.A. Nasser on forming the ideological views of the young Libyan leader are especially emphasized. Muzikarzh at the same time points out the marked discrepancies in the positions of Qaddafi and Nasser. As opposed to the latter, who was in favor of the leading role of the state in the life of society, Qaddafi defends the idea of a different political structure based on people's congresses and committees. He feels that the cornerstone of this structure is the position that the motive forces of history are nationalism and religion; his appeal to Islam etc. is undoubtedly more active than Nasser's.

The author also notes something else: after the death of Nasser, Qaddafi, emphasizing his deepest respect for the late president, at the same time came out repeatedly with a criticism of a number of the positions of Nasserism that did not ensure the solidity of the progressive orientation of Egypt to the proper extent. He felt in particular that Nasser "was unable to attract the Egyptian masses to the side of revolution or to solve the problem of democracy" (p 66).

Muzikarzh does not try to smooth over the views of Qaddafi, showing them in all of their complex and contradictory nature. On the plane of political theory, "the author of the Green Book feels that the motive social force is the masses, and not at all social classes. His views were formed under the influence of both leftist and primarily anarchic directions and an Islamic comprehension of society as an undifferentiated society (umma) in which all people are equal before God" (p 81). Muzikarzh notes that this simplified understanding of the structure of society leads Qaddafi to the idea of the ease of organizing revolutionary outbursts, which are becoming possible without prolonged preparation and, in essence, are not conditioned by maturation of socioeconomic conditions. "The subjective and idealistic voluntaristic views of Qaddafi on revolution bring him closer to M. Bakunin," notes the author (p 83).

The work of Z. Muller "The Influence of Islam on Political Processes in the Arab Countries" is also dedicated to contemporary topics. The point of departure for the author is the assertion that "typically secular versions of nationalism currently exist in the majority of the Arab states. Islam is preserved as only one factor in them, while specific language, cultural and territorial features have predominant significance" (p 35). It seems that in such a formulation, the role of Islam is somewhat diminished. Of course, the leading positions in the Arab countries today belong to advocates of secular nationalism. The effect of Islam on their views at the beginning of the 1980s, however, had not only not weakened, but had even gotten stronger. They are forced to act with a constant look over their shoulder at the religious forces today leading millions of hapless people, whose protests against social injustice, as a rule, take on religious forms. The nationalists are waging a struggle in a society permeated throughout with the spirit of Islam. Even the majority of the very bearers of secular nationalism remain believers dedicated to traditional religious values. It is perhaps risky to speak of the preferential effect of language and cultural factors compared to Islam under these conditions.

Muller's development of the theme shows that he himself recognizes the enormous influence of Islam on political and social life in the Arab countries, especially on the ideologists of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism. In considering the situation extant in the Arab world in the 1950s, the author notes that the nationalists had the opportunity, "by appealing to Islam and with its aid, to supplement the social content of the nationalist movement... and mobilize the masses to support domestic political programs and foreign policy" (p 37). One cannot fail to agree with this. It is sufficient to recall that in a number of program documents of the Arab governments, the ideas of social equality and social justice take namely a religious form. The process of the "Islamization of nationalism," it is true, later proved to be slowed in many countries.

Islam has never been monolithic and has never signified one and the same thing for millions of Muslims. Muller

cites fundamentalism and modernism as the chief directions of Islamic ideology. Both of them, in his opinion, were reactions to the penetration of secularism into the Arab countries. Moreover, "from the point of view of an appeal to the past, to the sacred texts, this is an ideological path for fundamentalism that can attract only people that are highly educated and familiar with the culture of traditional Islam."¹ At the same time, "fundamentalist ideas are a powerful means of mobilizing the masses" (pp 40-41), while modernism has become widespread among contemporary social segments.

The author systematizes the differences between fundamentalist and modernist approaches to basic sociopolitical, ideological and religious problems. The differences between the two directions are especially noticeable on such issues as the political leadership and forms of rule, law, the participation of religious figures in politics and the concept of Islamic solidarity (pp 43-44).

At the same time, Muller notes the proximity of some of the positions of the modernists and the advocates of secularism. The author here is inclined practically to equate their positions. Such an approach is especially distinctly discerned where he discusses the political leadership of Muslim society (p 47). The effort to untie the tangled knot of the mutual relations of the three directions of Arab social thought—fundamentalism, modernism and secularism—when the first two contradict the third and, at the same time, modernism possesses a number of common traits with secularism, seems successful overall.

The last and comparatively short article in the anthology—"Islam in the Algerian People's Democratic Republic"—was written by I. Svoboda. This topic has received quite widespread coverage in Soviet academics, and the material contained in the article is thus generally familiar to the Soviet reader.

In concluding the review, I would like to note that we have before us an original work by the Czechoslovak researchers that is interesting to all that are engaged in the study of Islam.

Footnote

1. The example of Saudi Arabia demonstrates that the representatives of a contemporary technical intelligentsia can also remain true to fundamentalist ideals.

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12821

Book on Problems in World Economic Relations Reviewed

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[Review by G.B. Starushenko of book "Imperializm—razvivayushchiyesya strany: krizis mirokhozaystvennykh otnosheniy" [Imperialism—Developing Countries: A Crisis of World Economic Relations] by V.S. Savchuk. Kiev, Vishcha Shkola Publishing House, 1986, 275 pp]

[Text] In the 1970s and 1980s, the sphere of worldwide economic relations between the imperialist states and the developing countries became an arena for irreconcilable contradictions and crisis upheavals. This work is devoted to researching the contemporary state of world economic relations of a neocolonialist type and analyzing their political and economic essence and forms of manifestation and influence on the world capitalist economy. Relying on extensive documented and statistical materials, often being brought into academic circulation in Soviet literature for the first time and drawing on the research of Soviet and foreign authors, V.S. Savchuk reveals the most important elements of this system of relations and uncovers the contradictions characteristic of each of them, on that basis undertaking an effort to determine the possible directions of their development, as well as the most promising ways of fighting to eliminate the whole system of neocolonialist exploitation.

Researching trends in changing the position of the developing countries in the system of the international division of labor allowed the author to demonstrate convincingly that notwithstanding definite successes in the structural restructuring of the economy and some progress in the fight for economic decolonization, these countries remain the unequal and exploited periphery of the world capitalist economy as before (pp 97-104). The strengthening involvement of the liberated countries into the orbit of the world capitalist economy is spreading and the effect on them of its immanent laws is imparting an unequal, unstable and occasionally crisis nature to the development of their economies. The latter theory is illustrated in the monograph using the examples of the economic crises of 1974-75 and 1980-82.

The preservation of today's "West—South" system of relations, and especially the conservation of the one-sided and abnormal specialization of the former colonies in the production of single export crops foisted on them based on the theory of "comparative costs of production" and supported everywhere by the MNCs [multinational corporations], is one of the chief reasons for the worsening food crisis in the Third World. The scope of the food crisis is revealed chiefly using the example of the African continent, which in essence has been transformed into the center of world hunger (pp 85-90).

The main lever of neocolonialist transformation of the international capitalist division of labor is the export of capital. An analysis of this problem occupies a central place in this book. The position that the export of state capital to the developing countries is a "specific" action "subordinated to the challenge of private capital and interacting dialectically with it" (p 132) that is advanced and convincingly argued by the author is of undoubted interest. Savchuk's treatment of the nature of the "grat-is" subsidies as one form of imperialist "aid" whose contradictory nature is conditioned by the absence of capital-forming factors in it (pp 134-137) is also deserving of attention. This cannot, however, alter the expansionist and predatory nature of this form of "aid" either, as testified to in particular by the example of American food "aid" to the African countries (pp 145-154).

The fact that the author was able, based on an analysis of structural changes in the export of capital, to uncover a fundamentally new phenomenon—the transformation of the market for loan capital into the most significant channel for neocolonialist exploitation (pp 119-127)—is of especially great significance, in my opinion. The book analyzes in detail the causes for shifts that have occurred and shows the decisive role of the multinational banks in this. The author's conclusion that the structural shift that has occurred in the export of capital testifies to a strengthening of parasitism and decay of both the sphere of world economic relations under consideration and the whole system of capitalism overall also appears logical.

The reader's interest will obviously also be attracted to that portion of the research where the mechanism for the self-augmentation of the indebtedness of the developing countries to the imperialists is uncovered, and a constructive treatment of the essence of the debt crisis as a generalized and concentrated form of manifestation of the crisis of the whole system of world economic relations between the "center" and the "periphery" is given (pp 155, 173-174). The author analyzes the causes that led to the debt crisis, uncovers the scope of it, gives a comparative analysis of the degree of indebtedness of countries in the Latin America and Africa and considers imperialist and democratic alternative ways out of the crisis.

Savchuk's approach to analyzing a number of new phenomena in relations between the imperialist states and the developing countries testifies to the originality of his thinking. This relates first of all to his treatment of non-equivalent exchange, the determination of the upper and lower limits of the international value of oil and the forecasting of the development of the energy situation in the capitalist world (pp 206-237). The abundant factual material on the losses borne by the developing countries as a result of the worsening trade conditions and the strengthening of protectionist and discriminatory measures in the 1980s contained in the monograph will be useful to academic workers and propagandists.

There are also a number of omissions in the book. Clearly too little attention, in my opinion, is devoted to the problem of utilizing the achievements of scientific and technical revolution in the liberated countries. And after all, it is namely that, combined with carrying out progressive social transformations, that could become the "miracle" that would save the Third World from the coming tempestuous upheavals. Technology transfer and the dependence of the fight against neocolonialism on the nature of the domestic regimes clearly merit more detailed research in this regard. The role of the old European colonial empires in implementing the global neocolonialist strategy of imperialism is shown relatively poorly in the book along with a quite complete analysis of the neocolonialist policies of the United States. I would also note that certain positions in the book are of a declarative nature and are not always backed up by appropriate factual and statistical material (pp 125-126); in other places, the book is clearly overloaded with such data.

Savchuk's monograph is overall a profound piece of research on an exceedingly topical problem. It can be of use to all who reflect on the complex problems of the contemporary world and are seeking ways of solving them.

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12821

Dadiani Book Blasting 'Social-Zionist Ideology' Reviewed

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[Review by K.M. Truyevtsev of book "Kritika ideologii i politiki sotsial-sionizma" [Criticism of the Ideology and Policies of Social-Zionism] by L.Ya. Dadiani. Moscow, Mysl Publishing House, 1986, 351 pp]

[Text] Despite the fact that Soviet researchers have written many works on Zionism in recent years, the task of critical analysis of Zionism as a political and ideological phenomenon is far from exhausted. It has practical as well as academic significance insofar as, notwithstanding the noticeable fall in its influence among quite broad bourgeois-liberal circles of the West, Zionism contains to preserve powerful positions in Israel itself and among the Jewish population of the capitalist states. One of the most active means of social demagogery that the Zionist ideologists are resorting to as before is their use of the term "socialism" for their own purposes.

The book attracts attention from this point of view. The author concentrated his attention first and foremost on those ideo-political strains of Zionism that have and do come forward under "socialist" slogans, trying to conceal the essence of the goals of Zionism with socialist phraseology. It seems that the intent of the book has been

successfully realized. Individual aspects of this topic have been studied by some authors before. Dadiani's work, however, is the first comprehensive research that considers social-Zionism on a historical plane and in systematized form. An undoubted merit of the author is the circumstance that he was able to track the inner logic of the development of Zionist "socialism" in theory and practice despite the multitude of ideo-political strains and those slogans and postulates that are proclaimed by its ideologists and are taken on faith by the rank-and-file members of leftist-Zionist parties and organizations.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part researches the genesis and initial history of social-Zionism as an ideo-political trend when it was still active on the territory of our country. The second is devoted to an analysis of the practices of Zionist socialism on Palestinian land (since 1948—in Israel, since 1967—including the occupied territories).

The author shows that social-Zionism was born and developed as an antipode of revolutionary Marxism overall and Bolshevism in particular. And although some of its ideologists (Borokhov et al) have called themselves "Zionist Marxists," the material cited in the book testifies convincingly that social-Zionism was always an adversary of scientific socialism and the revolutionary movement.

The second part of the book is the most interesting to the reviewer as a specialist on the Near East: "Zionist Pseudo-Socialism in Practice in Israel." It reveals quite deeply the principal trends in the development of social-Zionism in that country. It is shown in particular that since the very beginning, socialist rhetoric has been used to cover up the essence of the racist policies in relation to the Arabs. "The leaders of the Jewish community in Palestine, with the right-wing social-Zionists in the front ranks, have always followed a chauvinistic and racist course typified by the consistent incarnation of three extremely reactionary slogans—'the seizure of the land,' 'the seizure of labor' and 'Jewish products'" (p 151). It was namely the social-Zionist leader D. Ben-Gurion, present at the founding of the Israeli government, who cynically called Palestine "a country without a people." G. Meir also adhered to this "tradition," rejecting the right of the Palestinian people to exist in her public statements.

In my opinion, the author correctly evaluates the "division of labor" that existed (and is in essence largely preserved to the present day) between the Jewish bourgeoisie and the social-Zionists. At the same time as the Zionist and pro-Zionist Jewish bourgeoisie, as well as some non-Jewish capitalists, financed the colonization of Palestine under the aegis of the powers of mandate, "the rightist social-Zionists took upon themselves the task of providing for 'the re-creation of a national seat' and the subsequent formation of a 'Jewish state' with the workforce and the working population" (p 153).

In describing the ideological evolution of social-Zionism, first and foremost using the example of the largest "workers'" party in Israel, the MAPAI, Dadiani shows that as early as in the period of colonization it, "calling itself a socialist party, gradually lost the traits of even a social-reformist workers' party. This is such an obvious fact that it is one way or another... even asserted by some social-Zionist figures" (p 157). This party has today actually become a basic part of the bourgeois-capitalist establishment, in practical matters little distinguished from the right-wing chauvinistic Likud bloc. In a political and ideological regard, it has not simply evolved in the direction of a traditional bourgeois-nationalistic party engaged in apologies for 'free enterprise,' but is in essence conducting policies of 'ideological convergence' with religious-chauvinistic parties and organizations and is coming out with positions of 'theological nationalism' and 'social Darwinism'" (pp 167-174).

As for the economic doctrines of the contemporary Israeli social-Zionists, they are typified by the quote in the book from an article by the minister of finance of one of the Israeli governments, P. Sapir, that was published in the *New York Times*: "The Israeli economy includes private initiative and cooperative, private and state enterprises, and there exists complete collaboration here between private and public capital" (p 177).

Where such principles lead in practice is evident in the latter chapters of the book, where much factual material is used to show how the Histadrut and kibbutz system, engendered by ideas of "cooperative-communal socialism," have in practice already evolved into typically capitalist enterprises and corporations. "The entrepreneurial activity of Histadrut and the cooperatives associated with it is in no way distinguished from the business activity of the bourgeois state and the private-capital sector and is, along with the state sector, the base for the development state-monopoly capitalism in Israel" (p 237). The author further writes: "The kibbutzim advertised by the social-Zionists and their advocates are cooperative and communal, frequently militarized agricultural settlements, the property of the members of which is chiefly limited to personal items. The kibbutzim have long been completely dependent on the capitalist banks and the loans of savings banks and private firms, who exploit them in the same manner as the rank-and-file kibbutz members... The kibbutzim in contemporary Israel are a sure of cheap manpower and a convenient tool for cultivating the young and new immigrants in a Zionist spirit and with the propaganda of Zionist ideas" (p 246).

One positive feature of the book is the fact that it makes use of a differentiated approach to social-Zionism, giving the author the opportunity of not only considering this phenomenon in all the diversity of its ideo-political strains, parties and organizations, but also of drawing a boundary between the reactionary and anticommunist essence of the ideology and the policies of social-Zionism

and its mass social base, where there are many representatives of the workers that gravitate spontaneously toward socialism but are deeply poisoned with Zionist ideology, are cultivated in a spirit of national discord with the Arabs and are corrupted by policies of social and national differentiation and the practices of expropriating the lands and property of Arabs in favor of Jewish settlers. The unmasking of the ideology and political practices of social-Zionism thus plays an important role in the struggle of leftist forces, and first and foremost the Communist Party of Israel, to strengthen their influence among the workers of the country. It should be noted that in recent years, especially during today's Israeli aggression against Lebanon, a certain sobering up can be observed among part of the Israeli workers and intelligentsia that facilitates an awareness of the dead end into which the policies of the ruling circles of the Zionist state, including the social-Zionist parties, are leading.

The book is not devoid of some shortcomings. With all of the significance of the first section of the monograph, I would like to have seen its second part, devoted to the problems of the present day, be more extensive, and its exposition more detailed. The chapter in which the ideology and politics of the leftist MAPAM social-Zionist party are considered seems too laconic. The activity of the social-Zionist parties in the United States and other countries of the West today should have been related in more detail. The book would doubtless gain if it had included a section devoted to a historiography of the issue, including a survey of the works of Soviet authors on the problems being considered.

Dadiani's work is undoubtedly a contribution to the study and criticism of the ideology and policies of Zionism. The monograph facilitates a systematic representation of such a material and still insufficiently studied component as social-Zionism.

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12821

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[Text]

Great October and Northwestern British India (pp 10-19) (O.V. Pleshov)

The Influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on Africa and the Policies of the British Colonizers (pp 20-30) (A.B. Letnev)

Japan: "Fair Income Distribution" (pp 41-50) (V.B. Ramzes)

A Typology of Medieval Social Systems in the Orient (An Attempt at a Systemic Approach) (pp 51-62) (L.A. Sedov)

The Indo-Aryans and the Scythian Myth: Common Sources of Mythology (pp 63-82) (L.S. Kleyn)

Discussion (pp 83-96) (Participants F.R. Balonov (Leningrad), Ya.V. Vasilkov (Leningrad), L.A. Lelekov, D.A. Machinskiy (Leningrad), D.S. Rayevskiy, S.R. Tokhtasyev (Leningrad). Reply: L.S. Kleyn)

Vladimir Borisovich Lutskiy (pp 97-103) (B.G. Seyranyan)

Leninist Themes in Contemporary Chinese Poetry (pp 104-108) (L.Ye. Cherkasskiy)

Problems of Language and Politics in the Ruling Circles of Japan (pp 130-133) (L.G. Areshidze)

Introduction, Feature and Commentary from the Correspondence of S.F. Oldenburg (pp 134-143) (D.I. Belkin (Gorkiy))

Research and Information System for the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries (New Delhi, India) (pp 148-152) (A.A. Kutsenkov, G.I. Chufirin)

Centre d'etudes et de recherches économiques et sociales pres l'Université de Tunis (p 153) (R.S. Lavrova)

South Africa: Academic Centers and Research in the Realm of African Studies (pp 154-162) (O.V. Vlasov)

Chronological Notes (pp 167-174)

History of Medieval China in the Works of Soviet Sinologists (pp 175-182) (S.L. Tikhvinskiy)

Review of Book "India in Antiquity" by G.M. Bongard-Levin and G.F. Ilin. (pp 194-201) (Ya.V. Vasilkov, V.G. Erman (both—Leningrad))

Who Taught Navigation to the Malaysians? (The Problem of Academic World Views) (pp 206-210) (B.B. Parnikel)

List of the Academic Works of Doctor of Historical Sciences Sh.B. Chimitdorzhiev (on his 60th Birthday) (p 211)

List of Academic Works of Doctor of Historical Sciences V.A. Subbotin (on his 60th Birthday) (pp 212-213)

Obituary of Boris Mikhaylovich Kokler (p 214)

Obituary of Stanislav Solomonovich Paskov (p 214)

Obituary of Grigoriy Zakharovich Sorkin (p 215)

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12821

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